The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume XXXV July 1961 Number Three

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 186

THE THEOLOGY OF MENNO SIMONS 187
J. A. Oosterbaan

A NEWLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT OF MELCHIOR RINCK 197
Gerhard J. Neumann

NOTES ON THE RINCK MANUSCRIPT 204
Harold S. Bender

THE ANABAPTIST VIEW OF THE CHURCH AND THE THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY 218
Myron Lester Ebersole

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE COLLEGES 1959-60 238
Silas Hertzler

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES 242

A Tribute to Robert Friedman-*Harold S. Bender*

A Chronological Bibliography of the Writings of Robert Friedmann

THE FOURTH CENTENNIAL OF THE DEATH OF MENNO SIMONS (JANUARY 29, 1961) has occasioned numerous celebrations in Europe and the Western Hemisphere, as well as the publication of two new biographies of Menno and numerous articles in scholarly and popular journals. The REVIEW joins in the anniversary with the publication of a major article on "The Theology of Menno Simons" by Professor J. A. Oosterbaan of Amsterdam.

The article on "The Theology of Menno Simons" breaks new ground, and calls for a substantially different evaluation of Menno from that which is traditional in the Netherlands. Given as the major address at the Amsterdam celebration, together with the emphasis given to Menno at the several celebrations in Netherlands and elsewhere, it may, and should, bring forth a renaissance in Menno studies. Appreciation for the role and significance of Menno Simons is growing, not only among his direct spiritual descendants but elsewhere. The tribute to Menno by Franklin H. Littell, a Methodist church historian, to be published in book form this summer, is an added evidence of this. Menno has genuine stature among the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers, even though he cannot be classed among the greatest.

IT IS NOT OFTEN THAT NEW ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS BY EARLY ANABAPTIST LEADers come to light; the striking find of the *Kunstbuch* in 1955 is an outstanding exception. The scholarly world is still eagerly awaiting publication of this most important volume. Melchior Rinck was not as important as some of the other better known early Anabaptist leaders, and the writings by him which have been discovered are not as extensive or important as certain other valuable documents. Nevertheless the REVIEW is happy to present in this issue an edition of the newly discovered Rinck manuscript as found in the Frankfurt University Library, transcribed and edited by Gerhard J. Neumann of Bielefeld, Germany. The content of the document is slight; nevertheless, it constitutes one more piece of evidence as to the ideas of the German Anabaptists in an area (Hesse) for which the early materials have been scanty.

A VERY INTERESTING AND STIMULATING STUDY OF THE RELATION OF THE ANABAPtist-Mennonite concept of the church to modern mental health treatment is reported by Myron Ebersole in his article "The Anabaptist View of the Church and the Therapeutic Community." The article is an extract from a master's thesis at the University of Chicago. It breaks new ground, with much suggestive analysis, and points the way toward further more comprehensive and intensive theological study which is necessary if the Mennonite Church is to make a solid contribution to the field of mental health treatment.

THE REVIEW IS HAPPY TO JOIN IN TRIBUTE TO ROBERT FRIEDMANN ON THE occasion of his seventieth birthday, and presents in this issue an exhaustive chronological bibliography of his writings.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THE THEOLOGY OF MENNO SIMONS

J. A. Oosterbaan*

Concerning the theology of Menno Simons one can say with the Apostle Paul, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels" (II Cor. 4:7). Indeed anyone who has met Menno for the first time or who approaches his writings with the intent of finding beautiful or engaging religious literature or discovering thought of a strictly scholarly character will most likely lay aside the old parchment volumes with disappointment. But anyone who approaches him with spiritual sensitivity and seeks with perseverance to penetrate to the center of his religious life will become more and more impressed with the deeply rooted faith of this man, who succeeded in standing up for twenty-five years against the strains of persecution and exile and at the same time was able to wage a theological warfare on several fronts with good results. However, we want to speak of the treasure hid in this earthen vessel not only because there is always present in his writings an atmosphere of strong personal faith and devotion in which we see the image of a man who by a combination of gentleness and firmness provided leadership for a very heterogeneous group such as the early Anabaptists, but also because the content of his theology deserves our attention. Upon closer study it appears to possess a much higher quality of truth than has been attributed to it during past centuries even in the Mennonite brotherhood itself. The in-

*Dr. J. A. Oosterbaan has since 1954 been Professor of Theology at the University of Amsterdam and at the Mennonite Seminary in the same city. For many years he served as a pastor in various churches in North Holland, including Haarlem, where he continues to live at Frederikspark 12. This paper was delivered as an address on Sunday, January 29, 1961, in the Singel Mennonite Church at Amsterdam on the occasion of the Memorial Service held 400 years after the death of Menno Simons. The translation is by Irvin B. Horst, who was present in person at the Memorial Service.

trinsic ideas central to Menno's theology, one might well say, were hardly known among the various groups of Mennonites during the past two hundred and fifty years, to say nothing of their being accepted and embraced. The significance which he has continued to have for Mennonites pertains to his example as an upright character, a recall of his personal piety, and the memory of his invincible love for the church, a church which he saved by means of faithful labor and the commitment of his life.

The content of his theology we believe, however, has a significance reaching far beyond the sixteenth century, and merits our effort on the occasion of this memorial to examine it more closely. It may well be that there are points of departure and propositions which have not come to light and which in contemporary theology are now of central interest. Actually, I hope to make it clear that a deeper study of this early Anabaptist theology may contribute fruitfully to the ecumenical conversation in which until recently too little has been contributed from the standpoint of original Anabaptism.

With this in mind we shall here examine several aspects of Menno's theology, which will have to be of necessity within the severe restrictions of this occasion. We shall not do this on the level of the history of doctrine, a level on which Menno's views would have to be considered in confrontation with those of his Lutheran and Calvinist contemporaries. We intend rather to approach these views out of theological concern. To do this we shall compare them at certain points with the theology of Karl Barth in the contemporary scene. It is remarkable that a striking concurrence may be found between the theology of Menno Simons and that of Karl Barth, not only in regard to adult baptism but also concerning the central doctrines of the Christian faith. This assertion will doubtless provoke a skeptical smile on the faces of many non-Mennonite Barthians. This may be due, possibly, to their almost complete lack of acquaintance with the *Opera Omnia* of Menno Simons. This claim will also incite *rumor in casa Mennonitica,* particularly among the non-Barthian Mennonites. Might this be due possibly to too little acquaintance with what is becoming in time the very extensive *Opera Omnia* of Karl Barth?

The points on which there seems to be a great amount of agreement between the two theologians pertain to a method of Biblical interpretation and to Christology, particularly in regard to the question of the Incarnation. Because of this it is no surprise to find striking similarities in other doctrines. The following points may be

mentioned as examples: the connection of the doctrine of the creation with that of the atonement, the rejection of Calvin's predestinarian doctrine, the criticism of Luther's absolutist emphasis on *sola fide,* the accentuation of conversion and the new birth in Christ, the rejection of infant baptism, and the opposition in general to an overemphasis on the use of the sacramental signs. If one also takes into consideration the fact that Barth warns earnestly, in the same way as Menno had earlier done, against the dangers of clericalism and ecclesiasticism, preferring to speak of the church as a christocratic brotherhood in which any kind of officialdom must give way to brotherly service, then one surmises that a vision has been concealed in the theology of Menno Simons which the world of the sixteenth century as a whole was not ready to receive, and that only after the passing of centuries could it receive adequate consideration and treatment of a scholarly kind. It is not surprising that this was the case, for in regard to various other Anabaptist issues such as the relationship of church and state as well as social and economic concerns rightful recognition did not come until several centuries had passed. This recognition was defended by Ernst Troeltsch, Wilhelm Dilthey, and others, who held the Anabaptist reformers of the sixteenth century to be the real exponents of historical progress; although they were conquered yesterday they are today's conquerors.[1] It is my conviction that this will also likely be the case in regard to some aspects of the theology of Menno Simons.

In saying this here, there is no intention of breaking a lance for this theology, whether in its sixteenth-century or twentieth-century form. What could and had to be declared in the sixteenth century obviously cannot serve us of today as an adequate expression of truth, even though it be treated in a scholarly manner. Though we must preserve from every period of history what is actually valid as divine truth, it is necessary that we nevertheless find a new expression of this truth in a way which is fully relevant and meaningful in our time. In this connection it is important to be aware of the limitations which are inherent in the type of theology here considered.

We shall now turn first of all to a closer examination of Menno's work. Doubt has been expressed whether one may rightfully speak of a "theology" of Menno. Insofar as there is evidence of a doctrine of religion which is internally ordered and methodically developed from one central line of thought there is, as I see it, no room for doubt.* On this my position is diametrically opposed to that of W. J. Kühler, who in his criticism of Menno stood too much under the in-

1 Cf. Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte,* I (Tübingen, 1923), 424.

fluence of the rather unfortunate book by Sytse Hoekstra on early Anabaptist thought and doctrine.[2]

On the title page of each of his writings Menno gives evidence of being conscious of the formal and substantive center of his theology. The oft-repeated text which occurs on them. "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (I Cor. 3:11), was much more than an edifying motto to him. These words were an expression of his theological method and at the same time indicated the center of the content of his faith.[3] It is precisely this conscious unity of method and content that makes Menno's theology, with all its often unreflective simplicity, a special phenomenon in the history of theology.

The Bible for Menno Simons was the book of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus, nothing more and nothing less. Therefore the Bible possessed unity, but this unity was not of an abstract kind that was posited solely in the concept of revelation. This latter was more true of Calvin, who on the basis of this abstract unity later sought to combat the religious views of the Anabaptists.[4] Nor did the fact that a particular doctrine could be found in the Old Testament as well as in the New prove for Menno that the Bible had unity. This was rather the view of Luther, who saw justification by faith only, the *sola fide,* as the center of theology and then sought to establish the unity of Scripture in relation to this doctrine; when certain parts did not concur, such as the Epistle of James, Luther declared

2 Cf. W. J. Kühler, *De Geschiedenis der nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de zestiende Eeuw* (Haarlem, 1932), 282: "This [theology] can be accurately characterized by one word: it was a lay theology not built up by philosophical thought, but reasoned with sound judgment. We shall seek in vain for an inner connection between the various doctrines; they stand loosely side by side and do not admit of being united into a theological system."

I would not assert that Menno's theology is built up by "speculative thinking." It is, however, the purpose of this paper to show that there is a methodical and strongly systematic connection between the various doctrines in this theology and that therefore it is not justifiable to speak of a lay theology.

3 Menno's sharp awareness of this is seen in the first place in the fact that he gave his first major work the title *Een Fundament en klaere Aenwijzinge van de salighmakende Leere Jesu Christi.* In his later writings he called this book the "Foundation Book." In this book he expresses clearly that for him only the Christocentric principle counts in theology. The pertinent citation is found in *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons,* ed. John C. Wenger (Scottdale, 1956), 192: "For some of you, though few alas, are so far taught through the grace and Word of God that I hope that you know that neither usages nor councils, learnedness nor sword, nor edict can bend or break the truth of the Most High, the Word of truth, the Word of the heavenly witness, the Gospel of the kingdom. For other foundation cannot be laid in all eternity than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus. I Cor. 3:11."

4 In his endeavor to defend infant baptism, Calvin writes among other things that in circumcision the sign preceeds the significance, and that this is the case in baptism. "Voyla donc comme le signe precedoit sa verité. Si cela a esté licite autrefoys, et conforme à la raison, pourquoy est-ce que maintenant il seroit repugnant?" (in *Contre les Anabaptistes, Opera* VII, p. 61). The presupposition that there is no difference between the "formerly" of the O.T. and the "now" of the N.T. is the whole basis for the Calvinistic defense against the Anabaptists' argument. Concerning the significance of this abstract unity between the O.T. and N.T., see also G. C. Berkhouwer, *Karl Barth en de Kinderdoop* (Kampen, 1947), 65, 74, 84, 87, 89, 106, 144. In this last reference he also echoes to the words of Oorthuys: If one wishes to overthrow infant baptism "then one must first break the essential unity of the Old and the New Covenant."

For the Anabaptists the point was not breaking the unity of O.T. and N.T., but basing the unity in Christ alone, and not in an abstract revelational concept.

them to be of secondary importance. No, for Menno the Bible represented a unity because in its entirety, although in different ways, it referred to Jesus Christ—the Old Testament in a figurative and prophetic way. Therefore a text in the Old Testament always had to be seen and understood in light of the spirit of Christ in the New. For this reason, too, Christ is the fulfillment and the end of the law and of the ceremonies of the Old Testament, which pointed to Him. Menno reproved the Münster Anabaptists because they did not understand this, for they accepted the texts of the Old Testament in a literal sense only and not in a spiritual and on this basis sought by force to erect the New Jerusalem.[5] Menno reproved the Calvinists because they placed, for example, the texts about circumcision and the promises to Abraham and his seed in a New Testament frame of reference and interpreted them literally and not spiritually.[6] Conversely, he sought to take New Testament texts literally, that is insofar as it was clear they were not in figurative language. He censured his opponents for trying to circumvent the acceptance of "the simple clear command of Christ." We also find in Menno, although not as conspicuously, the characteristic dialectical theology of the early Anabaptists, which is to be found in Thomas Müntzer as well as in Hans Denck and Melchior Hofmann, and which begins with the viewpoint that there are many contradictory passages in the Bible—the *Gegenschriften*—which are not to be rejected but which precisely in the dialectical tension of their contradiction express truth as found in the Scriptures. In regard to both the method and the content of his thought Menno borrowed much from the writings of Melchior Hofmann and his followers.

This Christocentric manner of interpreting the Bible—which cannot in any sense be called Biblicistic or fundamentalistic—was the basis of the rest of Menno's Christological views as they occur in the Trinitarian context of his theology. Conversely it is also true that his doctrine of Christ gives support to his method of exegesis. The form and content of his theology supported and established each other to the extent that the resultant unity provided a solid ground for the certainty of the truth of the Anabaptist faith, and made it possible for Menno and his followers to bear the severity of persecution without wavering.

What then were the principal points of Menno's faith in Christ? They had to do, above all else, with two considerations which derive from the single basic concept, namely, that Jesus Christ is an insepar-

5 Menno Simons, *Opera Omnia Theologica, of Alle de Godtgeleerde Wercken van Menno Symons* (Amsterdam, 1681), 627 a.
6 *Opera Omnia,* pp. 265 ff.

able unity. This meant in the first place that the eternal Word or the eternal Son of God, who according to the prologue of John's Gospel was with God in the beginning and who created all things, was also the Jesus Christ who became flesh (John 1:14). The Christ of creation is the same as the Christ of the atonement. One may not make a cleft between them. All men have been created by and in and for Christ; therefore the creation in its origin is good, and all are created for the blessed state. Menno rejects trenchantly the Calvinist doctrine of predestination,[7] which permits the creation to take place outside of Christ and assumes that a portion of mankind already at the time of the creation has been pre-elected to be lost. It is clear that if the current opposition on the part of some Calvinists to Barth's rejection of the traditional doctrine of predestination is to be consistent it will have to address itself first of all to Barth's Christology in which he relates the doctrines of the creation and the atonement to each other. According to Barth, grace in Christ was already present at the time of the creation, and the fall of man is to be considered more as an intermezzo in the larger program of grace.

The second principal point in Menno's doctrine of Christ pertains to the manner of the incarnation. Jesus the eternal Son of God entered into time and became flesh. The Bible text to which Menno possibly refers more frequently than any other is John 1:14, where we find the words, "The Word became flesh." This characteristic doctrine of the Anabaptists Menno takes over from other leaders of the movement, and nowhere else is it dwelt upon and elaborated as fully as in his writings. The Word did not *take on* flesh but himself *became* flesh. Jesus did not receive His body from Mary; He himself became a body which was received by Mary in faith and through the Holy Spirit, that she might nourish Him and bring Him into the world according to the way of nature. The role of the Holy Spirit was not to take the place of man with Mary, and thus make it possible for her to contribute her part as a woman in the gestation, as the orthodox view of the incarnation more or less holds. As Karl Barth in recent times has done, Menno likewise refused to accept the view that Mary made any positive contribution whatever to the incarnation. There did not occur a marriage of a sort between God or the Holy Spirit and Mary.[8] Mary did not function for grace in Christ as a kind of contact point with the human race, says Barth; no, her relationship to the incarnation is much the same as that of the empty

7 *Opera Omnia,* pp. 171a, 311a.
8 Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik,* I (Zollikon, 1939), Part 2, p. 219. *Opera Omnia,* p. 315 b.
9 Barth, *op. cit.,* IV, Part 2, p. 48.

grave to the resurrection.[10] Neither Luther or Calvin arrived at such a radical disclaiming of the Roman Catholic Mariology. Jesus became man, according to Menno, in a full and true sense—a person who was hungry and thirsty, a suffering mortal man. Barth repudiated the charge of a low estimation of the humanity of Christ, which was leveled at him as well as at Menno. He also repudiated the accusation of docetism and Marcionism.[11] In the traditional view of the incarnation is there not a greater danger that the unity of the true God-being and the true man-being comes short? Is not the man-being related in too external a manner to the God-being? Menno criticized Luther's view of the *communicatio idiomatum,* "the communion of the divine and human properties," by which he tried to bridge the breach between the two natures of Christ. Precisely because Menno is, above all, concerned with the unity of Christ's person, does he reject the thought that he would ever teach that the Son of God had changed himself into a man and thus laid aside His God-being. The incarnation is, to be sure, a change but not in the essense of His God-being. In spite of the change, Christ at the same time remained himself. It is incorrect, therefore, to call Menno Simons the father of kenotic theology, as Friedrich Loofs has done,[12] on the ground that Menno in connection with Phil. 2:7 placed the emphasis on God "emptying himself" at the incarnation. Menno rejected a kenotic Christology as consciously as Barth does in our time.[13]

At this juncture I want to use a single citation, chosen from many which might be suitable, in which Menno states in his own words the two principal points of his Christology referred to above. It is taken from his book *Van het rechte Christen geloove* (*Concerning the True Christian Faith*):[14]

> We teach and believe, and this is the thrust of the whole Scriptures, that the whole Christ is from head to foot, both inside and outside, visible and invisible, God's first-born and only begotten Son; the incomprehensible, eternal Word, by whom all things were created, the first-born of every creature. We teach and believe that He became a true man in Mary, the pure virgin, through the power of the Almighty, eternal Father, beyond the comprehension and knowledge of man. He was sent and given unto us by the Father out of mere grace and mercy; the express image of the invisible God and the brightness of His glory.

Although Menno did not preach much about the doctrine of the incarnation, being aware that for many members of the church it

10 Barth, *op. cit.,* I, Part 2, pp. 195, 199. (This parallelization was taken over by H. Vogel in his *Gott in Christo,* Berlin, 1952; see p. 647.)
11 Cf. Calvin, *Contre les Anabaptistes, Opera* VII, p. 103.
12 Cf. *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* X, 262, "Kenosis."
13 *Opera Omnia,* p. 594 b. Cf. Barth, *op. cit.,* IV, Part 1, pp. 196 ff.
14 *Opera Omnia,* pp. 79b-80a.

was a theological question of great difficulty, the doctrine was for him of paramount importance. It is also included in various early Anabaptist confessions of faith.[15] For Menno's theology it was a point on which the church stood or fell. Why was this the case? Because in the first place atonement for our sin can take place through grace only and not by the co-operation of our sinful human race to which Mary also belonged. The doctrine of justification by faith only, which Menno accepted in a much more radical sense than Luther, was based, according to Menno, on this doctrine of the incarnation. In the second place, it is only on this ground that Jesus can be viewed as the new Adam, the New Man, who will remake us in His image and in this way renew and sanctify our lives. Thus the doctrines of sanctification, of conversion and the possibility of the new birth are founded on the doctrine of the incarnation. Only in this way is it possible for the doctrine of justification and the doctrine of sanctification to stand with equal importance in a dialectical relationship to each other; this is the case in the theology of the early Anabaptists as well as in that of Barth.

It is only within the context of Menno's Christological premise—Jesus Christ is the New Man, the second Adam—that one can gain a fuller understanding of two small but important writings from his pen, *De nieuwe Creatuur* (*The New Creature*) and *De geestelijke Verrijzenisse* (*The Spiritual Resurrection*). They represent two potent writings of admonition which are intended to bring the reader face to face with the possibilities of the new birth through the Holy Spirit as a new creation in Christ. Menno begins *De geestelijke Verrijzenisse* exactly in the same way as Barth begins a similar writing, *Die Wirklichkeit des neuen Menschen,* by quoting Eph. 4:21 and the following verses, where we are admonished to lay off the old man and put on the new, "created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness." This text is then later connected with the words of II Cor. 5:17, "Therefore if any man be in Christ he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold all things are become new." To Menno this did not mean a relative improvement of one's moral life. Rather it had to do with a radical renewal of one's entire person; it is an eschatological event; it is a decided change in one's existence which is possible only by faith in Christ as the New

15 Cf. the Confession of Hans de Ries (1580), Article VII. The Confession of the United Upper German and Frisian Congregations, 1630, says succinctly that "het wesentlicke Woort, dat voor de grontlegginghe der Werelt in grooter klaerheyt by den Vader was/ . . . in dat Maeghdelicke Lichaem Mariae . . . ontfangen en geen Vlaesch aengenomen/ maer Vleesch geworden is/ blijevende dat hij was/ to weten: God ende Gods Sone/ ende wordnde dat hij niet en was/ te weten: Mensch ende Menschen Sone/ in dier voeghen/ dat wij bekennen/ dat dat Kindeken van Maria gedragen/ ende tot Betlehem geboren. . . ."

Man, "who is created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness." Only in and through this faith are we set free for the new life, says Menno. I quote from the above-named book:

> These are they who died with Christ unto sin and have truly risen. These have on wedding garments for the marriage of the Lamb. These are the spiritual bride of Christ, His holy church, His spiritual body, flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone.[16]

The last words refer to Eph. 5:31, a text which is very important in Menno's theology. These words are really an expression of the reverse side of his view that in the incarnation Jesus was not flesh of our flesh. In the new birth we, that is, the church, become flesh of His flesh.

The church therefore, according to Menno, must always be a church of those who have been born again. This does not pertain primarily to ethics, as the Mennonites in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seemed to think, but it has to do with good works which issue spontaneously from a life of faith in Christ. A true church of believers must endeavor to be a pure church without spot or wrinkle, as is stated in the passage from Ephesians referred to above. Menno knew very well that it is not given to the individual believer nor to the church as a whole to persevere in belief so constantly that living communion with Christ and His righteousness remains constant too. He did not have overblown ideas about the church, but on the other hand he did not want to slight the promises of sanctification by lack of sufficient faith, as had happened, he thought, in other Reformation churches. Therefore he also maintained the use of the ban—although at times with a burdened heart—whenever he believed that the church was pursuing a course dangerous to its spiritual welfare. Regarding the use of ban and shunning we must, in any case, express some serious criticism. Its use, as I see it, is not necessarily an integral part of his theology, although it can be associated with it.[17] In the unsettled times of the Reformation it may have been sometimes necessary to draw sharp lines in the areas of ethics as well as doctrine in order to protect the church from falling into disastrous confusion. Certainly no one desires to revive the ban either on the ground of false doctrine or on the ground of immorality. However, on the occasion of this memorial service, we must ask ourselves whether we take seriously enough the promises regarding sanctification, and whether we as Mennonite churches understand adequately our calling in regard to faith as well as practice.

16 *Opera Omnia,* p. 183.

17 It is noteworthy that Menno does not list the ban among the marks of the church that he names on p. 300b.

Now that we have mentioned the boundaries of the church we have arrived at the doctrine which from the outside always appears to be the boundary line between other churches and us, namely, baptism upon confession of faith. It will be clear from the foregoing that the connection which the early Anabaptists established between a personally confessed faith and baptism was not merely a peculiarity arising from certain deviate interpretations of Bible texts. The total Christocentric view of the Bible, the basic ideas of Christology, the reality of the new man in Christ, the church of new-born believers, and baptism upon confession of faith—which is the sign of the change from the old life to the new—all this forms an organic theology which fits together and of which no single part can be missing. Menno's arguments in favor of believers' baptism we need not discuss here. Nor need we go into the similarity between them and Barth's arguments for it. Professor Berkhóuwer has called attention to this at some length in his book on Karl Barth and infant baptism.[18]

Something remains to be said, however, about Menno's view of the sacramental signs of baptism and the communion. As one would assume in a strictly Christocentric theology, Menno will have nothing to do with sacraments as means of grace. Salvation is not to be found in certain acts, in ceremonies (as he calls them), nor in the elements of water, bread, and wine. These are only signs which point to Christ. Not the *signum* but the *significatum* which implies the cross and the resurrection of Christ bring us salvation. The sacramental elements as means do not impart grace and the new life; this only the Mediator himself can do.[19]

Here I want to bring to an end my brief account of the theology of Menno Simons. It has been attempted as a contribution upon the occasion of a grateful and reverent memorial, the fourth centennial of Menno's death. A deeper study of his religious views, I have said, can bear fruit in our brotherhood and in our time. But as Mennonites we must not forget that he was only one of our forefathers, although the most important one. From the beginning there were other currents abroad in our brotherhood. Alongside the Christocentric current, of which Menno Simons and Dirk Philips were the most important representatives, the pneumatocentric current flowed, in which the Holy Spirit as the mediating power of God was the central emphasis. Taking this approach it would have been equally possible to

(Continued on page 237)

18. Already in 1939 Frits Kuiper, in several articles in the *Zondagsbode*, III, Nos. 22-25, in connection with Barth's expositions on baptism at his appearance at the University of Utrecht, pointed out the agreement of these views with Menno's

19 Cf. *Opera Omnia*, pp. 14 ff.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT OF MELCHIOR RINCK

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY GERHARD J. NEUMANN*

Melchior Rinck[1] was born in Hesse, which also became his principal area of work, first as a teacher at Hersfeld. His influence, however, extended to the Netherlands, although Thuringia and Saxony were his particular fields of effectiveness. He had been a student at the University of Leipzig and seems to have once been strongly under Müntzer's influence, having participated in the Peasants' War. Rinck was an educated man; in the records he frequently appears as "the Greek." Walther Koehler surmises that he was a man of a strong, charming personality. In any case he was steadfast in representing his cause, as he is portrayed by Paul Schowalter in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. He gathered quiet Christians, who had passed through suffering and been proved. In 1540 he was still alive and in prison. Beyond this point we know nothing more of him.

What are the sources of information concerning him? (1) We have indirect information about him in the trial records[2] of his own examination in August 1528. (2) There are also some occasional statements made by other persons concerning him.[3] (3) We have writings about him by his opponents or at least by two officials[4] (the magistrate of the Wartburg, Eberhard von der Tann, and Prince Philipp of Hesse) and by pastors, besides some closer friends[5] (Moravian Anabaptist elders.)

Direct evidence is found in two letters[6] written by Eberhard von der Tann, one about the peasant insurrection and a longer one which discusses the matter of Rinck's wife's wish to be divorced from him.

The second statement of his own which still exists and has been published is found in a rather short work composed with Antonius Jacobs—the "epistle" to Holland.[7] A brief summary of its contents follows. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the two points men-

* Dr. Gerhard J. Neumann is a historian living in Bielefeld, Germany. The translation is by Elizabeth Horsch Bender.

1 Cf. Paul Schowalter, in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (hereafter *ME*), IV, 336 f. Also Walther Koehler in *RGG*, IV, column 2323, and John S. Oyer, "Anabaptism in Central Germany," *MQR*, XXXIV (1960), 229-239.

2 Güther Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessichen Reformationsgeschichte*, IV (*Marburg*, Elwert, 1951), 4-16. (Hereafter cited as *Hessen*).

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-33; 41-47.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49-52, 261, 153.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 182 f.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 33 ff.

7 "Eenen Sendthbrief van Melchior Rinck gene Antonius Jacobs," in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (The Hague, 1909), V, 742 f. A print of the German original is found in a *Sammelband* in the Goshen College Library, dated 1561.

tioned, chiefly the former. Beyond this there is a discussion on the theme, "Let the little children come unto me." A familiar point of view appears: without preaching the children are "without knowledge." A well-known formulation follows, and a harsh contrast is made between Christ and Belial. There is an incidental attack on "Works-saints and scribes." Then follows, in a drastic comparison, an original warning: The "enemy" might be able to insinuate himself into the "city" if children are without question admitted into the church: "If a shepherd admits young wolves, lions, or bears into the sheepfold and rears them with the sheep, would they not, when they were grown, destroy both shepherd and sheep?"

In the light of hitherto known documents, what are Rinck's main concerns?

In the first place, Rinck is deeply concerned about the refutation of infant baptism. Thereby, as we have seen, he does not shrink from adopting a harsh, extreme position: In baptism, children are sacrificed to the devil (according to his hearing[8]). Then, as the main point, comes the emphatic "Faith comes from hearing" (statement of Rinck's teaching as given by another).[9] Mark 16:16 ("He who believes and is baptized will be saved. But he who does not . . .") is cited as his favorite text.[10]

Regarding the Lord's Supper, Rinck opposed especially the bodily presence.[11] Here he counters Luther;[12] but here his attitude is not so harsh: "But that those who receive the sacrament would be taken by the devil, this he would not admit having said" (statement in a hearing).[13]

Concerning the Lutheran doctrine of justification, Rinck noted the absence of fruits.[14] On this point we have especially a statement on original sin: Rinck agreed that "original sin from Adam damns no one before the person comes to reason and consents to sin."[15]

Finally, Rinck attacks the government, limiting himself to forbidding believing Christians to hold office.[16] But this summary conclusion is based chiefly on an indirect statement made by Eberhard von der Tann.[17] Another matter that seems important to me is what Rinck said about Christ and the faith. One year after Rinck's own utterances, another slight suspicion appears in another hearing in

8 Franz, *Hessen,* p. 7.
9 *Ibid.,* p. 44.
10 Schowalter, *ME,* p. 516. Concerning baptism see also Franz, *Hessen,* pp. 7, 8, 44, 46.
12 Against Luther, see Franz, *Hessen,* pp. 5, 6, 10, 13.
13 Franz, *Hessen,* p. 7.
14 Schowalter, *ME,* p. 515.
15 Franz, *Hessen,* p. 4; concerning justification, *ibid.,* pp. 5, 6, 7, 10.
16 Koehler, *RGG,* col. 2323.
17 Franz, *Hessen,* pp. 50 f.

connection with the "Greek." But according to the record, Rinck, the defendant, said, "Of the black Jesus he knows nothing."[18] Some alleged statements by Rinck about Christ were corrected in his hearing.[19] It is a matter of hair-splitting concerning obedience in Gethsemane.[20] Rinck said in conclusion: "He thereby did not want to deny the deity of Christ, but to confirm it."[21]

Of importance are also the statements concerning the one faith: On the first three points in the questioning Rinck was "in agreement, according to understanding,"[22] with the rector of the University of Marburg. Balthasar Raid, the preacher of Hersfeld, declared—also in connection with this hearing—in his concluding remark: "In the first place, dear Mr. Melchior, in order that we do not quarrel where we are in agreement in the matter, . . ."[23] Raidt also said: "It has been heard today, dear men in Christ, that we are one in the principal tenets of our holy faith in doctrine, as far as adults are concerned."[24]

But we must also consider Rinck's opponent who, one year before Rinck's trial, appeared as such because of the writing he had published against Rinck in that year.

It might be somewhat surprising to find Rinck involving himself in a matter that was actually Hans Denck's affair. But seen in the light of Rinck's chief concern, namely baptism, it is less surprising. The pamphlet by Johannes Bader[25] contains in part the customary accusations and in part in a skillful and malicious begging the question, but, with the exception of the introduction, it is very systematically organized.

In the first chapter ("Concerning the Abuse of the Holy Scriptures") Bader at once discusses the main issue, namely, the baptismal command of Jesus (Mark 16:15, 16); here he remarks: "Herein they are defeated, for it is not a command. The sequence of preaching the Word, hearing, believing, baptism, and works is clear to him nevertheless he designates the Anabaptists as being literalists (*wortler*),[26], [27] and even adds, "Those who have failed to get the [true] faith." Somewhat ironically he says here, "I would have thought because this little word is so important to them, that they would have

18 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 9; also p. 10.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
25 *Bruederliche warnung für dem newen Abgöttischen orden der Widertäufer. . . . Ein sonderlich gesprech mit Hans Dencken . . . 1527 Joannes Bader.*
26 Unpaginated. The citation is by folios.
27 B v ff.

written it with red ink."[28] Later[29] he asserts, in order to depreciate the Scripture citation, it was merely a matter of believing or not believing (hence it did not concern baptism!) and its consequences as they might occur. Anything beyond that he designates as "word strife." Further Bader comments concerning the Anabaptists "that they make no difference between sayings and examples."[30] An "example" might be the baptism of the Eunuch. But, he continued, he had learned from the jurists, "We must judge by laws and not by examples."[31] Matt. 28:19 he did not consider of equal importance[32] with Mark 16:15, 16; but since the ascension the baptismal formula ("in the name of . . .") was indeed a command.

Then[33] Bader compares the baptism of Jesus with that of the disciples and that of John, always stressing that neither faith nor baptism was commanded.[34] This is for him the *summa summarum*.[35] But that Bader regarded at least the baptismal formula as a command has already been noted; and he cannot completely evade the question of faith. On this point he comments, Infants and young ravens (Ps. 147:9) can also praise God; "therefore the faith of young children is also known to God alone."[36] This, he said, is true of the children whom God chose before the foundation of the world. At this point Bader says he has strayed too far and must break off, or he will never get to the end. Nevertheless he immediately comes back to the subject,[37] remarking that it is "foolish chatter to speak of a personal confession of faith," for not a few—here he enters upon church history—"unlearned and coarse Christians have been brought to their baptism who were as little aware as infants concerning the Christian faith."[38] As far as the latter are concerned one must take a chance with them, and leave the matter to God. Bader's own chain of thought then proceeds: innocent children are at any rate worthier than "falsely believing" adults. By constantly[39] labeling infant baptism as "innocent" and "holy," and adult baptism of believers as "idolatrous," etc., Bader departs completely from argumentation based on Scripture.

In a further rehearsal of the basic question he again comes upon the baptismal formula (in the name . . .), this time ignoring completely the pertinent passage in Mark.[40] He now cites other Scriptures. In connection with the "water and Spirit" of John 3:5, Bader comments, for example, that the Anabaptist (*Taufbruder*) who had looked him up (it may have been Denck, or possibly Rinck; this

28 B v ff.
29 C iij.
30 C.
31 C iij.
32 C v.
33 D ii—D iiij.
34 D v ff.
35 E.
36 E v.
37 F.
38 F iij.
39 F v.
40 F v ff.

point will be discussed later) had, in his confusion of spirit (*Rumpelgeyst*), not comprehended that this was not a matter of "elemental baptismal water," but of "spiritual" water[41] (Bader arbitrarily shifts his base).

In connection with the passage in Rom. 6:3, "buried with Christ in baptism," Bader admonishes that every Christian should daily remember his baptism![42] The passage in Rom. 14:23, that "what is not of faith is sin," makes him remark again that the baptism of heretics is even worse,[43] and no one can prove another's faith. Actually, he says, only God can recognize the "right-hearted" and "fully believing."[44] Concerning I Pet. 3:21, "the covenant of a good conscience," he to a certain extent equates Noah's ark with "Christ's ark," and, indeed, comes to this formulation: Those baptized as infants (*die Vorgetäufften*) are to be reminded of their baptism and admonished to follow after their baptismal lord.[45]

When Bader is unsure of his ground he always takes refuge in obvious evasion, attacking his opponent in violent terms. He lists eight cases of distortion of Scripture by the "blind baptism-hotheads" (*Tauffstürmer*), almost all of which actually show clearly the connection between preaching and baptism. To be sure, Bader does once say[46] that if someone is of a contrary opinion he will not fight "unchristianly" with him, but in almost the same breath he says again concerning the Anabaptists that they suffer "for the devil's sake" "no less than other thieves and murderers."

In the second chapter Bader seeks to give positive evidence for infant baptism. Right from the beginning he speaks now only of the instructions as given in Matt. 28:19 as a "command"; Mark 16:15, 16 (preach . . . and baptize the believers) is completely ignored.[47] The point of this passage, he says, applies only to the one baptizing, not to those who are to be baptized; and children, of course, do not resist.[48] Circumcision, he argues, was imparted to infants;[49] and Jesus "embraced" the children brought to him. "In the fourth place, holy infant baptism has the witness . . . of twelve or thirteen hundred years."[50] His fifth point is that, according to Matt. 18:3, adults must after all become like children.

In the third chapter Bader gives many admonitions, such as reading the Bible and loving one's neighbor.[51] Then follows "The second part of the third chapter: what the great lack and abuse of holy infant baptism is."[52] Here Bader speaks of the obligation of

41 F v ff.
42 G ij.
43 G iij.
44 G v.
45 G v ff.
46 H iij.
47 I.
48 H v.
49 H v ff.
50 K ij.
51 L iij–L iij.
52 L v.

parents . . . that "people without the fear of God should come to baptism . . . and that no "worldly splendor" be developed.

In conclusion, Bader presents "A Remarkable Conversation with Hans Denk."[53] Here he says at one point: "Since the merciful God has thus ordained that He will grant external water baptism not alone to the good but also to the bad and heretics. . . ."[54] In connection with the baptism for which the "baptismal hot-heads" push, Bader speaks at one place of the matter of "robbing Christian freedom."[55] In general, the arguments of the two are presented in the following number of lines: Denck with 6, 11½, 8½, 16¼, and 11 lines (total 53½) and Bader with 23½, 64¼, 9¼, 92¾, 39, and 100 lines (total 311).

What do we learn that is new in Rinck's newly discovered manuscript as printed below? First of all, that it was not only Denck that visited Bader, who was a clergyman in Landau in the Palatinate (Denck was just coming from Strasbourg[56]), but Rinck also. Rinck writes: "I say that he was convinced of the truth not only by me, but also frequently by others in his house."[57] It can therefore be stated as a "new" fact that Rinck's influence extended not only to the east and north, but also from Hesse to the south. It was already known that in 1527 he was probably at Worms with Kautz. It is thought further that it was upon Bucer's intercession later that his imprisonment of more than ten years was somewhat eased.

In general, the following may be said about Rinck's reply to Bader. Bader, to be sure, has the advantage of a systematic, broad discussion; but in actual fact he was not a great opponent for Rinck, for he evaded the chief issues, either by concealing them or by false logic, and then countered his opponent by means of name-calling; and later in his writing he himself revealed the weakness of his own points and in his own position. Rinck selects only a few points, which he, however, does not treat very systematically. It is easily seen that the manuscript was not composed in a single draft, for some parts of it are written in a careful penmanship and others in a hasty and untidy hand. And even though the argument is somewhat confused and even if in his reply to Bader's theme of baptism he departs to the question of the state's interference, which is his principal concern, nevertheless, besides the questions he merely touches, his arguments, in accord with the title of the manuscript, can be summed up under two points: (1) What specific reply does

53 M ff.
54 N iij.
55 P iij.
56 M, N.
57 Manuscript, page 6.

Rinck make to Bader's charges? (2) What does the manuscript reveal about Rinck that has hitherto not been known, especially concerning his attitude to government?

The reply to Bader can be briefly summarized. Baptism is always the principal issue. His views on this point can be gathered under four headings: (1) Judging by his emphasis first place is given to anything relating to "command" (baptismal command), prohibition, and "obedience"; what is not commanded is forbidden.[58], [59] The baptismal command of Mark 16:15, 16 may not be perverted.[60] Baptism is the "minimum outward obedience" that Christ can expect.[61] Rinck's positive position would have been sufficient; his heavy guns would not have been necessary. But he compares infant baptism with the sign of the beast[62] and equates it with Baal worship[63] and an "offering to the devil."[64] Infant baptism he calls a "false allegiance,"[65] whereas the new true baptism is a "marriage with Christ."[66] To him it is a matter of burying one's own will.[67] Although, he says, infant baptism is a "legalistic" work,[68] it cannot otherwise be compared with circumision.[69] Regarding children he makes a few special comments: It would be quite right to baptize "believing infants."[69a] One should not persuade the parents (because of original sin).[70]Infants allow baptism to happen to them without their "will or knowledge."[71] Guilt and danger consist above all in practically "promising salvation" to the infants.[72]

Among the latter ideas several may serve to give further light on Rinck's position. On his other principal points, we find nothing new on justification or the Lord's Supper, although he at one place speaks of a "bread God."[72a]

As already noted, Rinck deviated from his theme of "Bader" and baptism, probably because of pressure; the second part of his statements become an admonition to the authorities. One who calls on the government for help in matters of faith, he says, fights with "fleshly weapons."[73] One pays taxes[74] in order that the government may fulfill its God-given task of protecting the good and punishing the evil. The Scribes and Pharisees, Rinck argues, did not even pay their taxes,[75] but wanted to acquire something in addition, but were nevertheless, strange to say, in good standing with the authorities. In church affairs one should not proceed in the manner of the

57a Koehler, *loc. cit.*

58 Manuscript, p. 5. The following page references are to Rinck's manuscript pages as indicated in the text as reproduced.

59 P. 5.	64 Pp. 20, 21.	69 P. 4.	72 Pp. 8, 4.
60 P. 8.	65 P. 18.	69a P. 3.	73 P. 15.
61 P. 17.	66 P. 19.	70 P. 4.	74 P. 15.
62 P. 6.	67 P. 9.	71 P. 3.	75 P. 11.
63 P. 20.	68 P. 8.		

"heathen bishops."[76] But what do they do? They exercise compulsion in matters of faith[77] and steal people's possessions.[78] In comparison with them, Pilate is almost to be called a saint![79] The government actually persecutes the good, thereby completely reversing its function.[80] But this, he says, is due to the fact that they make "footstools"[81] of those who have "soft ears"[82] and those who do not like the admonitions of the Anabaptists.

76 P. 12.
77 P. 14.
78 P. 11.
79 P. 13.
80 P. 16.
81 Pp. 17, 21.
82 P. 12.

NOTES ON THE RINCK MANUSCRIPT

HAROLD S. BENDER

The manuscript which is reprinted in the following pages was discovered by Adalbert Goertz in 1958 in the library of the University of Frankfurt, Germany, bound together with ten printed booklets into one *Sammelband* with the catalog number Mrs. Germ. Oct. 43. The discovery was reported in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* XV (1958), 48 f., where the full titles of all eleven pieces are given. Goertz overlooked the fact that Melchior Rinck's manuscript really is composed of two distinct compositions, the second of which bears the title (translated) *Admonition and Warning to All Who Are in Government.* The second composition is not directed to Bader as is the first one. The short titles of the ten printed booklets are in the following given in the order in which they appear in the *Sammelband.*

1. Balthasar Hubmaier: *Achtzen Schluss reden . . .* (n.d., 1524)
2. —— ——: *Von dem Christlichen Tauff der Gläubigen . . .* (n.p., 1525)
3. Jakob Kautz: *Syben Artikel Zu Wormbs . . .* (n.p., 1527).
4. Christoph Freisleben: *Vom warhafftigen Tauff Johannis . . .* (n.p., 1528)
5. Johann Oecolampadius: *Ein Gesprech etlicher predicanten zu Basel gehalten mit etlichen bekenern des widertauffs* (Basel, 1525)
6. Ulrich Zwingli: *Ueber Doctor Balthasars Tauffbüchlein* (Zürich, 1525)
7. Martin Luther: *Von der Widertauffe an Zwen Pfarherrn . . .* (Wittenberg, 1528)
8. Johann Oecolampadius: *Unterrichtung vom dem Widertauff . . .* (Basel, 1527)
9. Martin Butzer: *Handlung inn dem offentlichen gesprech zu Strassburg . . . gegen Melchior Hoffman . . .* (Strasbourg, 1533)
10. (Melchior Rinck's manuscript)
11. Anonymous: *Von dem Kindertauff Bestendiger und klarer gegenbericht wider das ungegründtes büchlein eines Widertäuffers welches er genant hat Ein schon klar Bericht und anzeigung des warhafftigen Tauffs Johannis . . . An eine gotsfuerchtige Jungfraw vom Adel geschrieben* (n.p., 1563)

The items in the *Sammelband* were apparently collected by an opponent of the Anabaptists soon after 1563. Their provenance is unknown. No notice was taken by the scholarly world of its existence prior to the Goertz report.

The Rinck manuscript consists of eleven leaves, the verso of the last leaf being empty. The dimensions of the leaves are 13.5 x 19.5 cm., although they may have been cut to fit the binding. The first title page and a sample page to show the handwriting are reproduced below in reduced facsimile. Dr. Gerhard Neumann, the transcriber of the manuscript, reports that the first part is written in a steady deliberate script, while the latter part gives evidence of having been written more hastily. The writer has placed his monogram on the title page, and has added decorative symbols at various points in the margins.

The transcription of the text is reproduced on the following pages, line for line and page for page, the pages being numbered from the original manuscript. The numerous uncertainties in the reading presented by the at times almost undecipherable handwriting have been resolved to the best of the transcriber's ability. Scholars may wish to compare the result with the original.

Nothing is known of the origin or purpose of the composition of the manuscript. One may speculate that Rinck intended to publish it, but before he found a printer it was found on him on the occasion of an arrest and seized. Or was it found among his possessions when he died, and simply taken over by some official of the Hessian government or church, later to be added to the collection of an opponent of Anabaptism? The University Library can offer no clues as to its previous ownership or how it got into the possession of the library.

The permission of the Director of the University of Frankfurt Library for publication in the Review is herewith gratefully acknowledged. Thanks are also due to Dr. Neumann for the successful completion of an arduous task of transcription.

The translation of the first title is as follows:

Refutation Writing Which Johannes Bader, Reputed Pastor at Landau, Recently Did to Retain Infant Baptism as Christian.
She is Fallen, She is Fallen
Babylon the Mighty
Rev. 14:18. Isa. 21. Jer. 51.

The translation of the second title is as follows:

Admonition and Warning to All Who Are in the Government.

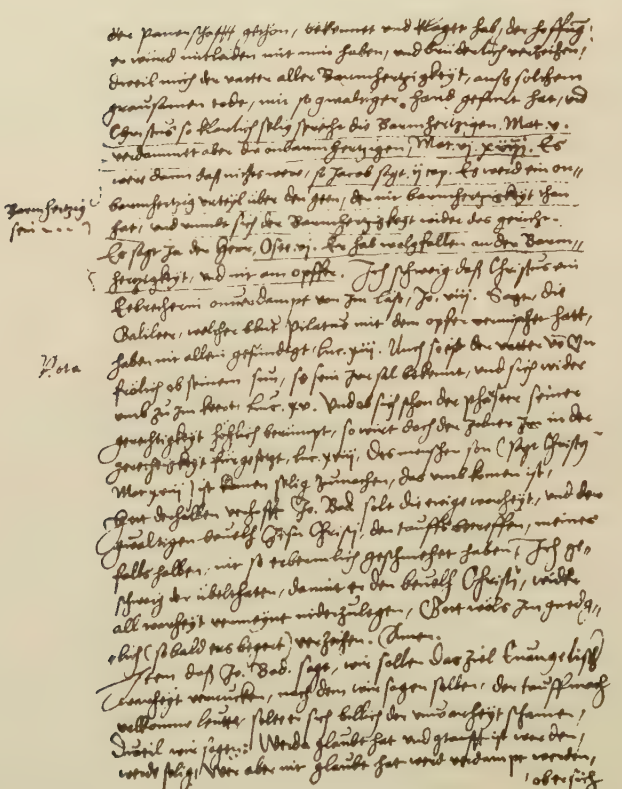
(10.1

Widderlegung eyner Schrifft
So Johannes Bader, yetzundter
Pfarrherr zu Landaw, newlichst
gethan hat, den Kindertauff als
Christlich zuerhalten.

Sünd gefallen, für yr gefallenn.
Babilon die groß ist.
Apoc. 14. 18. Esa. 21. Jere. 51.

Vermanung und Warnung
an alle so in der Obrigkeit sind.

M.



Widderlegung eyner schrifft

So Johannes Bader, vermeynter

pfarrher zu Landau, newlich

than hat, den Kindertauff als

CHristlich zuerhaltenn.

Sie ist gefallen, sie ist gefallenn.
Babilon die grosse.
Apoc. 14, 18. Jesa. 21. Jere. 51

Item vermanung vnd warnung

an alle so in der Obrigkeit sind.

Apoc. i

Man so Gott von Hertzen forchten, wunsch
ich Melchior Rinck, eyn mittgenoss am trübsal
vnd hoffnung, die da sind in Jesu CHrist.
Gnad vnd frid vonn Gott dem vatter
vnd vnserm Herren JHesu CHrist.
Demnach (Ir allerliebster,) Johannes
Bader vermeynter pfarrher zu Landau
die ewige vnd vnwandelbare warheyt, mitt so
prechtigen vnd unuerschempten worten für all-
er wellt verlestert, Erfordert es die liebe beide
Gottes vnd des nechsten, mich Im entgegen zustellen, vnd mit
dem schwert Gottlicher Zeugnuss, die warheyt gegen die lügē
verfechten, Dweil Christus sagt Math. 10 dass der so da
auch vatter vnd Mutter lieber hab dann IHn, sein nit werdt
sei, Ja spricht: Wer sein + nit auff sich nimpt, vnd folget
mir, der ist mein nit werdt, Ob er sagen wolt, Welch
mir nit Zeugnuss gibt, bey demitt worten vnd Werk,
wirt kein teyl an mir haben, Vnd zwar dweil
Johannes Bader, selbs so manigfaltig bekennt, die
onschulde der Kinder, ist es zu uerwundern, warumb
er doch so schwindt wenig vff den Kinder tauff, Nach
-dem der tauff für die, so an der sünd schuldig seind
haben Ir schuld durch den glauben erkanndt, Ja
glauben Gott, der Inen verzeihung der sunden
verspricht, vff gerichtet ist, wis mann dann
ms. page 2

stell vnd ort des Newē Test, wie/vnd was der tauff sei od bedeut wie vnd wē zutauffe.

augenscheinlich sehet Matiij, XXviij, Marc. j. Xvj. Luc. iij. Jo. iij Actu. ij. viij. jX. X. Xvj. Xviij. Rom. vi. j Cor. Xv. Eph. v. Gal. iij Coll. ij. Tit. iij. j Petr. iij. Hèb. X. Vnd was ist doch das Euangelj anders, dann ein zusag Gottes, darinnē denen die sich bessern verzeihung der sunden versprochen wirt. Mat. iiij. V. iX. Xvi. Mar. vj. X. Luc. iX. Xiiij. XXiiij. Jo. j. Vj. X. Xiiij. Rom. j. iiij. jCor. Xv.
Dass aber Jo. Bader spricht, der ausser tauff sei nit gbunden
an den Innern, vnd will solchs damit beweisen, nemlich dass
so Im also were, hetten die apostlen nit mögen dem befelh Christj,
den tauff betreffen, nachkomen vnd erfüllen, dweil der herr
alleyn eyn erkenner der hertzen sei. vermeynt auch mit solchem
argument zubeweisen, dass er gut recht vnd fug hab, die kind
zutauffen, ob er wol Ires glaubens vngewiss sei,
Ist diss die Anntwort von wegen des herren, :Gleich alls
Christus Mat. XXviij in sonderheyt antzeygt, was sich der so
tauffen will halten soll, so er sagte, Mir ist aller gwalt geben
in himel vnd vff erden, darumb gehet hin vnd vnderrichtend leret

tauffer

alle völcker, vnd tauffet sie vf den Namen des vatters, vnd des
Suns vnd des Heyligen geysts, vnd leret sie halten alles
was ich euch zuhalten beuolhen hab. Also zeygt er in sond-
heyt an Marc. Xvj, was der, so sich will lassen tauffen, halte

gtauffter

soll, vnd spricht, welcher glaube hat vnd taufft ist worden,
wirt selig werden, wer aber nit glaubt hat wirt verdampt
werden. So nun Jo. Bader sich solchs beuelchs gegen den Kindern
halten mag, hat er gut recht die kinder zutauffen, Nun er aber
solchs nit vermag, vnd dennoch die vnschuldigen kindlin wider
Ir wissen vnd willen, Ja ausserhalb dem beuelh Christi tauffe,
will, beweist er mit der that wes knecht er sei. Item so er be-
ms. page 3 weisen

mag, dass sie kindlin der angeborne sünd schüldig vnd glaubig
sind, hat ers fug die eltern zubereden, dz sie Ire kind tauff lassē.
Nun er aber solchs nit vermag vnd verspricht dennoch den
kindlin die seligkeyt von wegen des tauffs, den sie on glaubē
enpfangen, so redtt er das Im Gott zureden nit beuolhen hat
vnd muss hören was der Herr durch Ezechiel am Xiii cap. sagt:
Wee über die Narrechten propheten, die Irem narrechten geyst
nachfolgen, vnd dennoch nichts gesehen haben. Sie sehen nur
eittelkeyt, vnd haben lügen zuvor sagt. sprechendt: der Herr
hats geredt, so sie doch der herr nit geschickt hat, noch wollen sie
Ir ding erhalten, Ja Ir habt eittels gesicht gesehen, vnd lügen
hafftege warsagung geredt, so Ir sprecht: der Herr hat es geredt
Soichs doch nit geredt hab. Wee euch die Ir pülsterlin vnder alle
Ezech. 13. elopagen macht, vnd kusselin zu oberst auff den kopff, die seelen
damit zu fangen, Wenn Ir dann die selen meins volcks erjaget
habt, so versprecht Ir Inen das leben, vnd mich entheyligt Ir
gegen meyem volck, eyner handt voll gerstn vnd eym bissen brod
zulieb, in dem dass Ir die selen die nit sterben sollen verdammt
vnd jenige die nit leben sollen das leben zusagt, das brengt
Ir mit ewerm liegen zuwegen, bei meinem volck, dweil es der
lugen gehorcht.
Vnd ob er wol den tauff der beschneidung vergleichen wolt
hilfft In nichts, dann Gott die beschneidung durch Abraham vnd
Bschneidung Moses seine knechte den tauff aber hat er durch Christum seinē
sun vffgericht, Auch ist die beschneidung ein zeychen des
Tauff knechtischen Jochs gewesen, darunder auch, die nit wolten ge-
zwungen vnd gehalten wurden, Der tauff aber ist ein zeiche,
vnd bekenntnuss des kintlichen bunds, darunder nymandt
ms. page 4 gezwungen

werde noch mit gewalt gehalten werden soll, wi mā sihet
on zwang ist der criste, glaub item Joā. vi Mat. Xvj. Xviij. XXiij. XXviij. Ps. CIX Welcher nun die knecht
befels=etwas gwissen Gottes alsó vffnimmbt, dass er den sun Gottes verwirfft, hat
sein vrteyl. Deut. Xviij. Jo. iij. X. Marc. xvj. Wer also Mose
schüler sein will, dz er nit wissen will, woher Christus sei,
so der blinden augen öffnett, muss endtlich von den aller
geringsten menschen der Augen erweisett werden, ob er
auch des selbigen nit bei Im dulden mag, Jo. iX. Aber
solcher soll wissen, dass nit Christus, sonder Moses selbst,
solchen seinen schuler vor Gott verklagen wirt. Joā. 5.
Dass aber Jo. Bader ein verbott will haben, die kind ztauffe
ist ein vermessenheyt, dweil er verleugnet das er hat, vf
dass er sich rüme zu halten, das er doch nur von Got enpfangē hat.
Denn alles, das der beuelch Jesu christi Mat. XXviij vom tauff
Nichts zu Gottes wort, od ab thun. nit vermag, ist verbotten, dweil der herr mit solchem ernst gbout
wir sollen seinem wort nit zu oder ab thun, Deut. iiij. psa 30.
Sollen nit thun was vns gut düncke, Deut. Xij. Sollen weder
zur rechten noch lincken abweichen, Deut. Xvij. Ja er spricht durch
Jesai. 29. diss volck nahet sich zu mir mit seinem mundt vnd
eret mich mit seinen lippen, aber Ir hertz ist weit vō mir,
aber vergeblich dienen sie mir, dweil sie leeren solche leer die nicht
Mat. 15 dann menschen gebott sind. Es sagt Christus auch John. Xiiij.
Wer meine gebott hat vnd hellt sie, der ist der mich liebet,
Item der mich liebet, der wirt meine wort halten, Item Xv. So
Ir meine gepott haltend, so bleibt Ir in meiner liebe, Ja spricht
er Mat. Xv. Ein yde pflanzung die mein himmlischer vatter nit
gepflanzt hat wirt aussgerottet werd, nennet auch Die so da
menschen gepott leren, blinden blindē-leytter. Es
wer dann sach, dass Christus nit fürgestellet were, dass mā
Deut. 18. Luc. 9 In hören solt, so doch der vatter sagt: Diss ist mein geliebter sun
ms. page 5 den solt Ir hören. Mat. 17

Deut. 18

Ja spricht er wöll sich rechen an denen so In nit hören würden, Sehet zu spricht Paulus, dass euch nit widerfahre ein rauber durch die philosophie vnd list verfurung, nach der menschē vnd wellt satzungen, vnd nit nach Christus. Col. 2. Vnd zwar so Jo. Bader, sampt sein anhang, solchs verbott nit hett, würd freilich solch lesterung Im nit zugerechnet. Nun aber solchs verbott seine sünden kreftiget, hat er sich des todts (wo er sich nit bessert) gewisslich zuuorstehen.

K tauff was

Vnd was ist doch der kind tauff anders, dann eben das malzeychen, so ytzund die phariseisch rott oder Römisch bestien, durch beistandt der rott der schriftgelerten (das ist der gantz antichrist) den seinen an Ir stirn gibt, also, dass nymant kauffen noch verkauffen mag, der solch zeychen nit hat, Apoc. iij. Aber wee solchen, dann sie werden trincken vom wein götlichs zorns. Apoc. Xiiij. Auch wollen bösen schworen müssen sie werden sāpt denen, die das bild des thiers, das ist den bröttern hergot anbetten. Apoc. Xvj. vnd ob wol die zehen könig, das ist die schriftglerten, so ein stund nach dem thier das reich inhehatt, haben die hur, das ist, die Romisch Kirch gehasst, bloss vnd wüst gemacht, Ja haben sie gebannt, vnd Ire gesamlete schetz vf fress das reich dem thier wider geben, stritten mitt dem lamb, so wirt es doch siegen, dann es ist ein herr aller herren. Apoc. Xvij Man möcht aber meynen, Jo. Ba. hette die warheytt, oder were ja des sinns vom Irrsal abzusteen, wo ers besser bericht würde, dweil er sich so nutzlich zur disputatz erbout. Sag ich, dass er nit allein von mir, sonder auch von andern oftmals in sein hauss der warheyt überzeugt ist, hat doch solchs alles nachmals veracht, vnd die erkannt warheyt wider sein eygen gewissen vffs höhst geschmecht, Zu welcher zeit ich Im dann auch alls mein bruder im herren, mein fall, so ich

ms. page 6

bei der

der pattenschafft gethon, bekennet vnd klaget hab, der hoffūg er würd mitleiden mit mir haben, vnd brüderlich verzeihen, dweil mich der vatter aller Barmhertzigkeit, auss solchem grausamen todt, mit so gwaltiger hand gefurt hat, vnd Christus so klarlich selig spricht die Barmhertzigen. Mat. v. verdammet aber die onbarmhertzigen, Mat. vj. xijj. Es were dann dass nichts wert, so Jacob sagt iJ cap. Es werd ein onbarmhertzig vrteyl über den geen, der nit barmhertzigkeit than hat, vnd rumbt sich der Barmhertzigkeit wider das gericht, Es sagt ja der Herr. Osee. vj. Er hab wolgfallen an der Barmhertzigkeit, vnd nit am Opffer. Ich schweig dass Christus ein Eebrecherin onuerdampt von Im läst, Jo. viij. Sogar die Galileer, welcher blut Pilatus mit dem opfer vermischet hatt, haben nit allein gesündigt. Luc. Xiij. Auch so ist der vatter vō ♡n frölich ob seinem sun, so sein Irre sal bekennt, vnd sich wider vmb zu Im keert. Luc. Xv. Vnd ob sich schon der phariseer seiner gerechtigkeyt höchlich berümpt, so wirt doch der zelner Im in der gerechtigkeyt fürgesetzt, Luc. Xviij. Des menschen son (sagt Christus Mat xviij) ist komen selig zumachen, das vmbkomen ist, Hatt derhalben verhoffit Jo. Bad. solt die ewige warheyt, vnd den gewaltigen beuelh Jesu Christj, den tauff betreffen, meines falls halben, nit so erbermlich geschmehet haben, Ich geschweig der übelthaten, damit er den beuelh Christi, wider all warheyt vermeynet widerzulegen, Gott wöls Im gnedg--lich (so bald ers begert) verzeihen. Amen.

Barmhertzig sein. . . .

Vota

Item dass Jo. Bad. sagt, wir sollen das Ziel Euangelisch warheyt vermurken, nach dem wir sagen sollen, der tauff mach volkomen leutte, solte er sich billich der vnwarheyt schemen, dweil wir sagen: Werda glaubt hat vnd gtaufft ist worden, werdt selig, Wer aber nit glaubt hat werd verdampt werden,

ms. page 7

ob er sich

auch hundert mal liess tauffen. wis Marc. Xvj vnd von
allen schrifften Pauli bezeugt wirt.
Welcher aber sagt, er glaub in Christum vnd rümet sich seins
bluts, soll christo sein beuelch nit Verkeren, vil weniger die ver-
hindern, so Im nachkomen wöllen, vff dass er nit endtlich sampt
andern, muss hören das Christus sagt Mat xxiij. Wee euch
euch schriftglerten vnd phariseer, Ir heuchler, die Ir das Himel-
reich zu schliesst für den menschen, Ir kompt nit hinein, vnd
die hinein wollen lest Ir nit hinein gehen. Vnd ist aber das
nit, wie die falschen propheten zur zeit pauli thaten, das Euan-
gelj verkeren, so man den tauff erst, vnd den glauben dannach setzt.
will nun das dem wasser zugeben bei den kindern, das man so lang
dem glauben zu geben hat, Paulus sagt ja Gal. J. So wir
Da ein engel vom himel wird anders predigen,
dann wir euch gepredigt haben, der sei verflucht. Item Gal. 3.
Die mitt den gesetz werken ümb gehen, sind vnder der verma-
ledeiung. Item Gal. vj Ich zeug aber eynmal yderman,
der sich beschneiden lässt, dass er nach des gantzen gesetzs schul-
dig sei, Ir seit ab von Christo. . Nuns hat Paulus nie
zum ersten gtauft, vnd darnach den glauben gelert.
Kt. ein gesetz werck, was So ist der kindertauff gleich als die beschneidung ein gesetzs
Werck, das ist on glauben. Ja die so kinder tauffen,
versprechen Inen die seligkeyt durch solchen tauff, sind
derhalb vnderm fluch vnd maledeiung, ja haben keyn teyl
Gal. 5 an Christo. Wie Pauly zeugt, Ich schweig dass alles sund
ist, das ausserhalb des glaubens geschicht, Rom. Xiiij. Jo. 3.
Vnnd warlich, dweil nit alle, die zu Christo sprechen
Herr, Herr, ins Himmelreich komen, ists gewiss dass die kind
tauffer schon aussgeschlossen sind, dweil sie Christum also
=== ms. page 8 mit mundt

VD bekennen, dass sie Inen auch nit geringste Werck ver-
leugnen. Sprechen sie thun Gottes willen, vnd haben
Iren noch nit gelassen, Rümen sich eines Newen lebens
vnd vfferstehung durch Christus, so sie noch nit mit Im
gestorben vnd begraben sind. Solche aber haben zube-
sorgen, dass sie nit endlich Ir besoldung überkomen, im
fewrigen teich der mitt schwefel brennt, sampt dem thier
vnd falschen propheten Apoc. Yviiij. Gott aber wöll
alle, so es von Herzen begeren, von solchem grewel gnedig-
lich erlösen, vnd vff die Zukunft christj seines suns
vnstrefflich erhalten, i chr.n Amen.:

Titel
Vermanung vnd warnung an alle
so in der Oberkeit sind.
Sie ist gfallen, sie ist gefallen, Babilon die grosse
Apoc. 18. Jesa. 21. Jere. 51.

Grus.
Allen so in der Oberkeyt sind, sie seien hohes oder
niederes standes, wunsch ich Melchior Rinck,
Gnad vnd frid von Gott dem Vatter,
vnd vnserem Herren Jesu Christo. 1 2

Item alle Oberkeyt vnd gewalt, ist von Gott, vnd ein diener gottes, dem bossen zu straffe
und den christen
vnd den guten zu schutzen. Auch Assur, Türck, Nebuchadeneser, wie die schrift sagt,
sampt allen
gottlosen Tirannen, Das ist ob sie schon Trannē seind vnd Ir hertz zuuortreben stett, so
hat Gott Kinder die
der ruten bederff, welche In nützlich vnd gut ist, denn dardurch werd wir getrieben zu
gott sehert er vor
deshalb schicket vnd verhanget er gewalt, verfolgung zc. vns zu gutem nach seinem
=== ms. page 9 [One line cut off of original ms.] veterlichen willen vnd

Dweil in diesen lettsten vnd aller geferlichsten Zeiten (geliebte Diener Christi) also vil onschuldigs blut der zeugen vnd glidmassen Christj, vergossen vnd on alles vffhören allenthalben verstürtzt würt, vnd solches alles nit allein die phariseischen V.D. werckheyligen, sonder auch die antichristische schrifftglerten wegen richten, welche die Kinder Gottes, vber das Dass sie die alls Ketzer vnd schwürmer, wyder all billichkeyt vnd Ir eygens gwissen, verdammen vnd verfluchen, lassen nit vnder wegen dieselbigen auch als vffrürer für der oberkeyt Gwalt werleumeden, vff dass sie ja das mass Irer vätter vor In erfüllen vnd nach dem wunsch Irer ältern, alles vnschuldig blut auf mat. sie kome, Ist es von noten gegenwertige warnung vnd vermanung zu stellen, an euch, vff dass die so gern recht thuns wölten (so weit sie es ver steen) wissen, was sie hierinn halten sollen, vnd die es zuuor wissen, desto weniger sich vor Gott, als die da auss vnwissenheyt gesündiget haben entschuldigen mogen. / / / Vnd zwar dweil der Keyser sampt oberkeyt, was seinen angangk, nichts anders ist, dann ein Knecht oder Diener Gottes, so das schwert von gott beuolhen moge, zur rach vnd vnd straff der bössen, zum schutz aber vnd preis der guten, derhalben man Im auch gschoss vnd Zoll gibt, soll es gdencken vnd mitt höchstem vleis bewachten, dass Christus sampt sein glidmassen eyn kind Gottes ist, wie solchs Moses vnd die propheten bezeugen, vber das, dass der vater Inen in so mancherley weyss verkläret, Soll sich vleissig fürstehen dass er nit durch anregen der vermeynten kinder Gottes (das

ms. page 10 V.D. ist

ist der phariseer vnd schriftglerten) an dem sun seines herren vergreiff, vnd werd zum mörder am Kind, des, der In zum gwaltigen Knecht gemacht vnd Im zugehorsamen (so weitt er sich seins beuelchs haltet) mitt solchem ampt gebotten hat. Vnd wie mag es doch ymmer zugeen, dass beyde phariseer vnd schriftgelerten, so der oberkeyt weder Zoll noch geschoss wollen geben, sonder nemen solchs vil mehr, also eyns grossen ansehens bei der oberkeyt sind, vnd von Ir mit solchem ernst verthetingt werden, vnd Christus sampt seinen glidmassen, so der oberkeyt auch zoll vnd schoss zugeb bereyt ist, also gar keynen raum vnd stat bei der oberkeyt hat. Will man aber wenen, dass solcher knecht samt seinen Heuchlern (wo er sich nit bessert) on straff endelich bei seinen Herrn bleiben werde? Wee dem knecht, der den erkänten willen seins herrn, nit allein nit thut, sonder verhindert alle menschen, so vil Im möglich, vff dass sie den willen Ires hern, ob sie auch gern wolten, nit thun mögen, Handehabet vnd beschirmet, die, so gottes zorn allermeyste verfallen, vnd desselbigen höhst vnd ergste feind sind, Ja machett on vnderlass darnach, wie er seines Herren Kind, (gehorsam gfelt an welches gehorsam der vatter allein eins genugen hat) gott alleyn verklyen möge, will dennocht nit allein ein getrower diener seins herren, sonder auch eyn kind für anderen heyden gerumett sein.

Vnd ob der türck wol (wie man sagt) sampt seinē anhangk, ein verfolger christj ist, ists doch on mass ein gering V.D. übelthat dann dere so sich auch ytz Euangelisch fürsten neñen lassen

ms. page 11

vnd dennoch die Zeugen des Euangelj weder sehen noch hören
wöllen, muss bei In alles schwärmerey vnd vffrur sein, was
Iren weychen oren missfället, handlen wegschicken allent-
halben, dann zuuor ehe sie von Christo ettwas wusten, meynen
villeicht, es sey gnug, so man Gott allein mit dem mundt
gehorsam leyste, ob man wol mit den wercken erger denn
die offentlichen Heyden sei, Gleich ob Christus nit gsagt hatt
zu den seinen: Ir wissent, dass die fürsten der Heyden Herr-
mat. 20 schend über sie, vnd die gwaltig seind faren mit Inen mitt
gewalt, gleich er sagen wöllt, Die so heydnische Bischoff
vnd vorsteher seind, die verthetigen Ir ler mit gwalt, will
mann nit auss lib, so muss man auss forcht annehmen,
Ja ob eyner sie gern der warheyt wolt berichten, so muss er
doch von Inen der lügen überzeugt sein. Auch die bei Inē
gewaltig seind, besitzen Ir vndersassen als Ire knecht vnd
eygenthumb, wollen mit Inen zu thun vnd lassen haben,
gleich Irem erbe, nach allem Irē wolgefallen vnd mutwillen.
Vnder euch aber soll es nit also sein, sondern will ymants
bei euch gewaltig sein, der soll ewer Diener sein, vnd welch
Bisch oder lerer bei euch der vornemst will sein, der sei ewer knecht, gleich
ob er saget: zo ymant bei euch ein bischoff oder lerer wille
2 Cor. 2 sein, der soll mit sein leer ~~mit keiner gewalt~~ die gemeyn nit be-
j Pet. 5 herschen, soll sein ler mit keiner gwalt, entweder infürē
oder auch erhalten, Er sei aber allein ein diener der gemeyn
j: des leere die gemeyne mög richte, verwerffen oder annemen,
==== ms. page 12

Ja welcher ein Christlicher Fürst bei euch will sein, der soll
weder dis gemeyn noch das sie hat, als vnd für das sein be-
sitzen, sonder der gemeyn eygen sein, soll die guter der ge-
meyn nit seins gefallens, sonder nach dem befelch der ge-
meyn ausswylen, es wer dann sach dass sollches alles allein
von geystlicher Oberkeyt gesagt were (wis die schriftglerten
sagen) vnd nit zugleich von allerley oberkeyt so sich Christlich
benennet, Aber soll Gottes wort allenthalben bestendig onwan-
delbar, vnd allhie on macht vnd kraft sein u. so man doch
allenthalben schreibt, ruft, singt vnd malet V.D.
M.I.E. vnd sollen wir meynen dass Christus vergeblich gesagt
hab, Himel vnd erde werden zergeen, meine wort aber werden
nitt zergeen, u.
Pilatus.H. Aber (ach leyder) wer müst den Heydnischen Pilatus
nit heylig nennen, so man In auch ytzundt, mit den ytz-
igen so sich auch Christlich vnd Euangelische fürsten nennen,
vergleichen wolt. Ja war nit Jesus ausserhalb keyserlichs
beuelchs, on verwilligung Pilati vnd aller obersten zu Jeru-
salem in geritten, hat sich als ein erblicher Konig der Juden
lassen grüssen, nach dem er lange Zeit im land hin vnd her,
mit so grossem anhang des volks gezogen war, Ja in den
Tempel gangen vnd hat die kauffer vnd verkauffer herauss
gtrieben, hat Inen die wechsel bank vmbgstossen, vnd das
gellt verschüttet. Auch spricht diesser Pilatus, er finde
keyn vrsach des todts an Ime, keret allen fleiss an, hollt
==== ms. page 13 sich auff

so lang er ymmer mag. ob er vilcicht Jesum möcht beym
leben erhalten. bekennt In auch als ein gerechtmen. ob
er wol von den pharisseern vnd schrifftgelerten. das ist von
pharisseer vnd schrifftgelerten. wer den aller frombsten vnd gelertesten bei den Juden. verdämmt werde.
Vnd wo bleibt denn bei dieser zeit bei denen die stolt des
Romischen reichs gleiben oder mitgenossen. Ja auch vor-
prediger des Christlichen glaubens nennen. das. das der
Festus Heydnisch Festus sagt. dass nit der Römer gebrauch sei.
Act. 25 ymichen menschen zum todt zuuberantworten. es hab denn
zuuor der verklagte seinen verklagern gegenwirtig gibt
habe raum vnd stat gehabt sich der anclage zuuerantworten
vnd das Gallio sagt zu den Juden. nach dem sie peuld
Gallio vor wegen des Euangelion verclagten. spricht er zu:
Act. 18 O ir Juden. so irgend ein Unbild oder übelthat vorhanden
were. solt ich euch billich horen. nach dem es aber betrifft die
trag von worten vnd namen. vnd eurem gesetz. lass ich euch
darüber sorgen. ich will kein richter darüber sein. Vnd
was hat doch der keyser vnd sein anhang mit denen sachen
scepter den glauben betreffen. zu thun. hat Gott nit solches seinem
Sun zuuerrichten befolhen. vnd geputten den selben zu
horen. Gleich ob Christus sein wort nit solte wercs ze
erhalten. oder zuerhalten geputten hette. vnd nit gesetzthe
stunden Ir solt euch nit vil fursten verlassen. vnd vil
Natios g tider in menschen kinderen. von welchen seyn Heyl ist. vnd aber
principlich g. nos
ms. page 14

Dass ist alles gewalt

vnd setzet Im das fleysch zur sterke. vnd O du arme
kind Gottes so es nimer solche grosse trostlichkeit vnnd
erhalten must werden. Aber ist es Ja war. dass weder
Bapst noch Luther ein wares Euangeli hat. dweil sie
beyde mit fleyschlichen waffen wider den gebrauch Christi. pau-
li. vnd aller Apostlen. das leer verfechten. Mögen sich
auch beyde des fallens nit erweren. nach dem sie zugleich vil
den samlt sich gründen. dweil sie nit Christum weder
Gelt. silber oder Edelgesteyn. sonder hole. stro vnd stoppel
bawen.

Wieweit sich der gwalt erstreck.

Dass man aber solt sagen:
man wüste nit wie weit sich das ampt weltlichs hendels
erstrecket. desshalb dann nit wunder were. dass man sich
etwan in denen dingen. die da den glauben an Christum
betreffend. vergriffe. solt Ja ein seltzames ding sein.
dweil Paulus solches so clerlich beschreibe. vnd spricht:
Dann die fürsten seind nit zu eynem schrecken denen so
gute thun. sonder denen die arge thun. wiltu nun nit forcht
die oberkeyt. so thue gute. so wirstu lob von Ir überkomen.
dann sie ist ein diener gottes. dir zu guten. so du aber arge
thust. so forchte dich. dann sie tregt das schwert nit vergebens
dann sie ist ein diener Gottes. ein recher zum zorn. dem da
böses thun hat. vnd deshalb muss man vnderthenig sein. nit
allein vmb des zorns. sonder auch vmb des gwissens willen.
dann der zwang leidet Ir auch nit. dweil sie dienet
ms. page 15 Gotts

sind so sie solchem recht nachkomen. Dergleichen spricht auch petrus, Seit vnderthan aller menschlichen creaturē, von wegen des herren, Es sei dem Kön̈ig als dem fürestē oder den amptleuten so von Inen geschickt werd zur rach den übelthetern, zu lob aber denen so recht thun. An disen orten man augenscheinlich sihet, wie gar nichts den keyser die sachen den glauben betreffen angehet, welchen in die werelt zupflanzen, Gott seinen aller liebsten sun Jesum Christum, nach seiner mannigfaltigen verheissung vns zuuor gesagt, er wölle sich rechen an denen, so Inen nit würden hören. Ja wie ein grosse vnd dünstige vermessenheyt es sei, so die Heydnische oberkeyt (nach erforderung Ires ampts, wie sie sagt) nun ein so lange Zeit anher, sich vnderwindet die menschen dies oder jenes zu glauben, zu zwingen, gleich ob der glaub nit gottes, sonder Ir gab oder des menschen vermöglickeyt were, vnd sagt doch obgemelte schrift, dass die keyserliche oberkeyt von Gott allein derhalben verorndet sei, vff dass sie, die so übels thun straffen, die aber so recht thun, schützē vnd schirmen soll derhalben man ja auch zoll vnd gschoss gebe.

Christy, pflanz des glaubens

Glaub o gabe

Aber, ach Gott ein Herr aller oberkeyt, wie ist diss alles dieser Zeit in der hochsten verkerung, in welcher die so alle bösses thun, den grössten preis vnd schutz bei der Oberkeyt haben, die aber so allen bestes thun, oder gern thun, weder stet noch raum haben, vnd will dennoch solch Oberkeyt

Alles verkert

ms. page 16

Ir an keynem zoll oder geschoss lassen genugen, Es were dann sach, dass solchs übel gthan were, Nemlich Gott durch Jesum CHrist (vnd das on allen schaden der oberkeyt) ghorsā leysten, Gott für allen dingen vnd den nechsten wie sich selbst libhaben, vnd widerumb allein solchs wol vnd recht thon were, nemlich, Entweder dem Römischen oder witte bergischen growel anhangen, Christum mit dem maull allein bekennen, vnd In allenthalben mit den wercken verleugenen, der wollt Ires gefallens endweder höltzeren werk, oder ein ströern glauben fürpredgen, stols, rauben, morden, fressen, sauffen, wuchern, Gott on alles vffhören, vnd vffs aller grausamst lestern. xc.

V. D.

Vnd zwar nach dem der tauff (vff dass ich vom geringste eusserlichen gehorsam so Christus er fordert, sage) ein Ceremonij ist, damit man der Oberkeyt des sun Gottes huldet, vnd gehorsam zusein von ausswendig sich verbindtt, nach des selbigen befelch Mat. 28. was thut dann die keyserlich oberkeyt ytz anders so solchen vffs grausamst vervolgen auss angeben des zweyfeltigen growels, dann dass sie die oberkeyt des sun Gottes Irs hern mit füssen tritt, handthabt den Antichrist, vnd das kind des verderbnus also, dass sie den waren christ vnd das kind der seligkeyt vertilgt, ist also ein fussschemel der phariseer vnd schrifft gelerten, dass sie Gott, sovil Ir möglich, zum fuss schemel mach, bekennet sich entweder Christen oder Euāgelisch mit dem mundt, vnd gefellt sich entweder des Bapsts oder Luthers gebott on wercken, rufft vnd schreit mā

Tauff was

das thier lest sich die rot hur wieten.

ms. page 17 wöll

auffrürer die hure,

vffrur gegen sie erregen so sie doch nit allein sich gegen Gott Iren Herren emporet, sonder auch alle vndersassen Gottes zum abfal vnd meyneydigkeytt zwingen mit gewalt, mag der halben wol, so sie will' ermessen, was für ein straf sei bei dem herren vnd vatter Jesu Christi sei erwarten,
Dass sie aber sagt (auss für prediger des growels) mā hab---------- solchs vor gehen, so man sich in kinder weiss hab lassen tauffen ist darumb mein antwortt: So eyn mörder einen erblichen fürstē seines lands vertriben hett, vnd seine vndersassen entweder mit listigkeyt oder gewalt zu der huldigung gebracht, vnd solchs vnder dem schein der Oberkeyt, wurd auch solcher erblicher fürst Im lassen genugen so bald als er das sein wider überkome, an der Huldigung so die seinen dem mörder+ gethan hetten: Ja solten die vnderthanen auch wul, so bald sie Iren rechten hern wider überkomen, gebürliche huldigung weygern, Dweil wir nun in der kinder tauff nit Christ Den Gott, sonder dem Bapst vnd antichrist wivol vnder dem namen Christi gehuldet haben, Habe Gott vil müssen gereden durch vnsere potten vnd selbst dem Bapst halten, wie solchs die that bezeuget ists dann so ein gross übel, so wir nun vnserem rechten Herren dem Sun Gottes, nach seim beuelh

j Gleichnuss vō ein mörder

+ zuuor

ms. page 18 Hulden

Vnd muss er darumb bei dem knecht seines Herrn als ein vffrürer erwürgt werden. Wer oren hat zhör der höre, dann es ja nit mag änders endlich werden, dann dass man ettwan gern hören wolt, vnd nymāt sei der vns den willen Gotts für trege, vnd dass mā hefftig vmb hilff ruff, vnd gott seine oren verstopffe, dweil ytzundt, so man wol möchte, nit hören will, vnd Gott seine oren geöffnet hat, doch nymmand ist der da seiner hülff begeret.

Tauff wasser essei

Item weil der tauff ein vermehlschaft ist, darin die glaubige gemeyn sich Christo, als Irem rechten Preutgam, verpflicht vnd verbindet, wie mā wol vernemen mag auss dem Xj ca des zweyte briefs zu den Cor. Ja durch welch die gemeyn gereiniget wurt, Christo zu vnbefleckten braut, Ephes. V ist es ein gross vnd ferlich vermessenheyt, derer so sich diener vnd knecht Gots rüm vnd dennocht desselbigen in keynen weg leiden wöllen. Denn ob wir wol ettwan in Kinde weiss, nach dem befelh des wüsten grewels, getaufft sind, ist es doch kein vermählung mit christo, sonder ein pancket dem grossen hurer dem Antichrist gewesen, ist deshalb nit vnbillich dass ytz nur die gemeyn sich mit Irem rechten breutgam christ verbindet, vnd vom alten bossewicht, mit dem sie nun so lange zeit onwissend ghurtt hat, abkomt. Solte wol eyner, der sich vber ein arme dierne, die lange zu

Die Gleichnuss oder beispil vō

ms. page 19 gars in

ein dierne

sünden gelegen Hette, erbarmet, also dass er sie Im zu eim weib neme, Ims benügen lassen an den bancketen, die solch dierne mit den buben zuuor gehalten hette, vnd nit eyn gebürlich vermehelung mitt Ir halten: Ja were auch redlich dass solche dirne dem selben solche vermehlung weygerte. Es sprech auch ein Nero das vrteil.
Item nach dem der tauff ein Ceremonion ist, darinn sich der mensch nach erforderung vnd krafft des glaubens gott zum opffer ergibt, wie mā findt Rom. vj. Ist wol zuermessen in was fahr vnd ongnade gegen Gott die oberkeyt stee die solches weret, Dweil gott auch seines suns nit verschonet hat, vff dass er Im in aller wellt ein solchs opfer zu richtete, daran er dann allein genügen hat, so ist ys solchs nichs anders, dann den ewigē onwandelbaren willen Gottes verhinderen, vnd den gehorsam an dem Gott alleyn eynen genügen hat, nit wollen gestatten, wöllen also ein knecht Gottes sein, dass man Gottes sun nit allein des hauses vertreibe, sondern auch gar zu todt schlage, sich also der warheyt für andre heyden rümen, dass man die lügen mehr dan andere heyden verthedige, Christum im fürgeen loben vnd preiss in dem er aber fordert, man soll Im nachkomen, weder sehen noch hören wöllen. Dann ob wir wol ettwan nach angebung des Baals, in kinds weiss getaufft sind ist doch solchs kein opffer gottes, sonder des teuffels gwessē, ob es gleich vnder dem namen Gottes gescheen ist, gleich

seine Kinder dem teuffel aufopffern

ms. page 20

wie auch

auch ettwan die Juden Ire Kinder den teuffeln haben geopffert, vnd doch on zweifel für geben, sie thuen solches, gleich als Abraham, auss dem befelh Gottes, wie man liesst CVj psalm. im iiij buch der kunig am xxi cap. Ist derhalben nicht vnbillich, so die menschen, nach erkannter Irrsal sich zu Gott Irem schopffer vnd seligmacher bekeren, ergeben vnd sich dem selbigen durch seinen geliebten sun Jesum, zum opffer des suessen geruchs, Ob wol beyde, der welsch vnd teutsch mörder Hurer vnd Baal, das ist der gantz wust vnd growel, sich dargegen setzet, vnd solchs durch beistand der Oberkeyt, so er Im zum fussschemel an beydē orten gelegt hat, vermeynet zuerhalten. Gott wolle alle die es von Hertzen begeren vor freuel behu(ten) dañ diese Zeit gantz schwind vnd über allemass voller ferlichkeyt ist. Amen.

4. Reg. 21
Psa 106

Das thier buck sich nider vnd lest die hur auffsitzen.

ms. page 21

THE ANABAPTIST VIEW OF THE CHURCH AND THE THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY

MYRON LESTER EBERSOLE*

THE MENNONITE CHURCH AND PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES

One of the unique developments in the Mennonite church in recent years is a mental health program centering around several mental hospitals and associated services. Mental health interests have grown generally in society during the past twenty years. But why should a small, conservative, generally rural and often withdrawn group like the Mennonites numbering only 160,000[1] in the United States develop several mental hospitals at great expenditure of both personnel and finances? Why indeed, when Christendom as a whole has in the past devoted comparatively little attention to the mentally ill?[2]

There is no single answer as to why the Mennonites are operating mental hospitals or why they became interested in the problems of mental health. Historically several strands of interest in this field may be traced. The first institutional work of Mennonites in mental health was "Bethania," a Mennonite mental institution founded in 1910 by the Allgemeine Bundeskonferenz in the former village of Alt-Kronsweide, Chortitza district in the Ukraine, Russia. This institution, patterned after Bodelschwingh's "Bethel" at Bielefeld in Germany, served Mennonites and non-Mennonites until its closing in 1927 because of the flooding of the district by the Dneprostroy power project.[3] Developing directly out of this experience is Bethesda Mental Hospital of the Canadian Mennonite Brethren District Conference near Vineland, Ontario. Opened in 1932 as a private venture by an immigrant who had formerly worked at Bethania in Russia, the institution was taken over by the church in 1944. This institution serves both acute and chronic cases.[4]

* Myron L. Ebersole is a graduate student in the University of Chicago, in the Department of Religion and Personality. This material is taken from his thesis for the M.A. degree. His study is sponsored by the Institute of Mennonite Studies, Elkhart, Indiana.

1 Figure taken from *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory* 1959, Ellrose Zook, ed. (Scottdale, Pa.)

2 According to statistics for 1954 compiled from "Hospitals" (*Journal of the American Hospital Association*, Vol. XXIX, No. 8; August 1955, Part II, pp. 10-16), 169,685, or 10.7 per cent of all hospital beds in the United States are operated by the churches. However, of this total only 3,033, or less than 1.8 per cent of the beds, are psychiatric hospital beds. This does not include the psychiatric wards in general hospitals operated by the church, for which figures are not available. It is not likely that this would raise the figure to anywhere near the ratio of psychiatric beds to the total hospital beds in the country in the same period (755,506 psychiatric beds out of a total of 1,557,961 beds, or 48.5 per cent). Statistics for later periods were not available in a breakdown which allows precisely these comparisons.

3 Cornelius Krahn, "Bethania Mental Hospital," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (hereafter *ME*), I (Scottdale, 1955), p. 301f.

4 I. H. Thiessen, "Bethesda Mental Hospital" *ME*, I (1955), 317.

The major influence which led to the current program was located in the historical circumstance which placed approximately 1,500 Mennonite conscientious objectors in state mental hospitals in many parts of the United States during World War II. The efforts of these men, by far the most of whom had no specific preparation for the tasks they confronted, paid off in the response of many patients who had been neglected. The hospitals were seriously short of manpower and finances, and by virtue of the pessimism shared widely by society and by professional psychiatry, were ill equipped to provide good care, much less good therapeutic treatment. Nevertheless the work of Civilian Public Service[5] men frequently brought about significant changes in the therapeutic program of many hospitals. Their work contributed directly to hospital reforms and in part to a nation-wide mental health program known as the National Mental Health Foundation which later was merged with the National Association for Mental Health.[6]

More significantly for the Mennonite church this produced changes in the men who participated. They "saw in mental hospitals a challenge for a practical application of their faith in love and nonresistance as a way of life."[7] This was supplemented by the beginnings of the Voluntary Service movement in which, during the latter years of Civilian Public Service, many Mennonite girls served in hospitals along with the men. Since the war this program has developed into a widespread pattern for Mennonite young people serving in many places and many capacities similar to the Work Camps operated by the Quakers and others.

As a direct outgrowth of the vision of this experience in state mental hospitals, the Mennonite Central Committee at the behest of its constituent bodies began in 1945 the movement which led to the adoption of a master plan for four mental hospitals.[8] The first three hospitals with their locations and opening dates are Brook Lane Farm at Hagerstown, Maryland, November 1949; Kings View Hospital at Reedley, California, March 1951; Prairie View Hospital at Newton, Kansas, March 1954. The hospitals opened with respective capacities of twenty-three, thirty-one, and forty patients. Enlargements and improvements have been made at each hospital since its opening. A fourth institution, Oaklawn Psychiatric Center, is now being developed at Elkhart, Indiana, to be opened in 1962. These

5 Wartime agency for administration of service projects of national importance in which conscientious objectors served in lieu of military service.

6 Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace, A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service* (Akron, Pa., 1949), 224ff.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 317.

8 "Minutes, Annual Meeting of the Mennonite Central Committee, January 3, 1947" (unpublished). Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pa.

institutions are operated by local Mennonite boards composed of representatives of the several Mennonite groups with some non-Mennonite representation as well. The over-all program is co-ordinated by Mennonite Mental Health Services, Incorporated, an inter-Mennonite agency which maintains an office at the Akron (Pennsylvania) offices of the Mennonite Central Committee.

The primary emphasis in these institutions has been active treatment with a variety of forms of treatment. Some longer term chronic cases have been admitted, but usually with a goal of rehabilitation. Patients are admitted without regard to race or creed. While initially there was concern that Mennonites be given preference, in practice the actual proportion of patients from Mennonite affiliation has ranged from below ten percent to a maximum of thirty percent in the three institutions. Each hospital has outpatient services. There has also been experimentation with day-patient care, foster home placement, and similar innovations. Mental health education has also been undertaken through co-operation with local mental health associations, mental health institutes, classes offered by members of the staff for various groups, hospital open house, etc.

The staff for the institutions is recruited largely from Mennonite sources, many positions being filled by Voluntary Service personnel, who give one or more years of service. Professional personnel including psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers, have frequently been secured from non-Mennonite sources as well.

The Mennonite church has thus entered a program of mental health services in which it seeks to implement its vision of love and service to a suffering world. It is a part of the vision of discipleship which has its roots in the Anabaptist wing of the sixteenth-century Reformation, and which has once again begun to enliven the Mennonite community. This is perhaps answer enough to the question why the Mennonites are in such a program. As will be seen in the following pages, however, an adequate answer is, I believe, much more complex.

II. Toward Development of a Theological Base

There are many perspectives from which one might approach the motivation for this involvment of the Mennonite churches in a mental health program. A more thorough historical study might be of some value, but it would add little to what we know. One might consider with profit the psychological and sociological aspects of a minority group asserting itself in this manner in the contemporary American scene. It is conceivable that a great deal could be gained

from a phenomenological study of why Mennonites themselves feel they should be involved in programs of service. However, when a church undertakes such a task its own mode of justification is given in theological terms. This is not to deny the spontaneous expressions of the genius of a community which serves out of an inner compulsion. However, an adequate understanding of the meaning of such spontaneity which is attributed to a relationship to God or to the work of the Holy Spirit cannot be attained apart from a theological approach. It will be evident in the method of this study that this does not refer primarily to theological statements or creeds as the bases for such work. Rather theology is understood here as the attempt of a group to understand the significance of its current experience in the light of its tradition. Theology is then not only systematic study of doctrine or history of Christian thought or of Christian experience, though none of these are excluded. It is rather the study of the process by which each of these elements and as many others as may be observed, (e.g., psychological and sociological dimensions) is to be seen as a perspective which may help to better understand and communicate the meaning of the life of a community of faith in the multiplicity of forms it takes.

This study is an attempt to develop some understanding of the implications of the Mennonite experience in the mental health program. A brief resumé of my own experience will help provide background for the study itself. My interest in this area began during college days when I spent two summers in a state mental hospital in a Mennonite Summer Service Unit. This experience coupled with a Liberal Arts degree in Sociology, and one year of seminary, raised many questions about the distance between life as experienced in the Mennonite communities and the theology which they espoused. I was aware, however, of the inner dynamic which made it possible for CPS men, Voluntary Service workers, and relief workers, to respond to the needs of their suffering fellowmen whether in mental hospitals or in refugee camps. This apparent inner resource so challenged me as a source for clarification of some of my own concerns that I discontinued my education to enter the program of the Mennonite Central Committee. Two years of relief work with Arab refugees in the Near East under the Committee was followed by five years at Prairie View Hospital as administrator.[9]

It is to be acknowledged that I was motivated in part by the romance of these rather dramatic opportunities to serve. However,

9 The first eighteen months of this period were spent helping to raise funds, supervising the building program, and helping plan for the program of services to be offered.

beyond this I found that these experiences carried a validity of their own which both enriched my life and raised questions and problems. Particularly at Prairie View Hospital, where the treatment program developed under the leadership of a professional staff interested in the dynamics of inter-personal relationships in therapeutic efforts, I experienced a quality of life which had more meaning than anything I had participated in earlier. The nature of that program will be dealt with later. Suffice it to say here that the emphasis on integrity in every area of the work of the hospital with the constant and rigorous re-examination of policies and procedures to determine their validity for the particular needs of the moment stimulated me to think more carefully about the reasons for which the church was involved in this program. The motivation of the Good Samaritan so often referred to in the service programs of the church had validity but often seemed superficial or inadequate, as those of us on the staff found that at times our own insecurities stood in the way of serving adequately. We became aware that often, rather than "stooping to serve" the unfortunate people around us, there was an experience of a new kind of community in which we not only served but were served as well. What we experienced seemed not altogether inconsistent with our background as Mennonite Christians but it seemed also to be more than we could understand or explain only by reference to our tradition. The realization that we frequently turned to the psychiatry of our professional colleagues for light on the problems we faced rather than the religious tradition which brought us to work at the hospital raised questions about how these two resources were to be related.

The questions which arose out of our own experience were further complicated by the questions raised by the Mennonite constituency. What is being done about the "spiritual" problems of the patient? What should be the role of a chaplain where adequate professional services were provided, i.e., individual and group psychotherapy for all patients? Were the psychiatrists and other professional staff Christians (many have been non-Mennonite and some non-Christian) or did they have to be? By what standards do we judge the adequacy of professional services or the forms of treatment used in the hospitals? What is the relationship of psychotherapy to the pastoral services of the local church? These and a host of other questions about the hospital began also to open up questions about the Mennonite community. Does the hospital have any help to offer the church in preventing mental illness? Can the church learn anything about dealing with some of the problems (other than overt

mental illness) of church life from the operation of the hospital and the professional staff serving there?

It was this ferment which led ultimately to the current study. Caught as I was between a sense of loyalty and indebtedness to my own tradition on the one hand and the stimulation of the Prairie View Hospital experience on the other, any theological formulation would require full recognition of both dimensions and point toward a kind of harmony not previously attained.

III. Hypothesis

This study will attempt to find some basis for integration of the work of the psychiatric hospital within the context of a strong religious tradition. The following is offered as a hypothesis for the study:

> Critical comparison of the Anabaptist view of the church[10] and the therapeutic community in contemporary psychiatric practice will demonstrate that psychiatric services so conceived may be given theological ground in this conception of the church, and may provide principles by which the church may criticize its own understanding and practice. In each instance the data tend to show that the parallels in social structure, the nature of personal interaction, and the kinds of effects intended, are determined not only by instrumental or practical considerations but by the understanding of the nature of man and his social relationships.

IV. Definition of Terms

The dissertation itself is devoted to the clarification of just how these two communities are to be conceived or understood. For purposes of clarity the following brief definitions are given.

The Anabaptist View of the Church. This concept is difficult to define in precise terms in view of the variants within the tradition, the variety of interpretations and the relative lack of accepted theological statements from the tradition. However, certain elements and emphases seem quite clear. The church may be best understood as a committed "brotherhood of love in which the fulness of the Christian life ideal is to be expressed."[11] "Life is to be lived under

10 My decision to focus on the Anabaptist view of the church came about because (1) the doctrine of the church is central to that which is distinctive in the Anabaptist tradition; (2) there is more explicit theological, historical, and sociological material on the Anabaptist view of the church than any other area in their theology; (3) Prairie View Hospital developed its treatment program with emphasis on the therapeutic community (this being of particular interest to the professional staff and appealing to the nonprofessional staff as well and because it seemed to be the best possible way to utilize the personnel resources available to the hospital from the church); and (4) the apparent parallels between the ideal functioning of the church as a brotherhood and the therapeutic community became obvious fairly early in the program and have attracted the attention of many people in the church.

11 H. S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," in Guy F. Hershberger, ed. *Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (Scottdale, 1957), pp. 29-54, 53.

the Lordship of Christ in a covenant of discipleship."[12] The church is the local congregation in which the nature of the relationships to Christ and between members of the community are such that "discipled" life can be realized. The community is not an institution or an organization even though these forms may appear; it is the *koinonia* or fellowship, the essence of which can be grasped only in terms of the interrelatedness of the participants in a common loyalty to Christ. It is also not a collection of individual Christian, but is the fellowship in which the individual exercises his faith as an individual only as he accepts his interdependence with others in the community.

The Therapeutic Community. This term is derived from the work of Maxwell Jones[13] in England, who in the postwar years led in the development of a rehabilitation program for returning veterans utilizing a series of group-oriented activities such as group work, group psychodrama, group psychotherapy, special interest groups (art, music, etc.) and group living arrangements as the primary emphasis in treatment. Others have described the therapeutic community as the balance of permissiveness and control which will enable the patient to relate to others at an optimum level, thereby developing new insights into his problems. Still another point of view would see the essence of the therapeutic community in patient self-government. Each hospital attempting to utilize the milieu as a distinct form of treatment will develop its own unique community. While there is no definitive form which this must take, the hospital which attempts to utilize this concept may be seen in contradistinction from those institutions where the milieu may indeed be therapeutic, but where this is not planned and where the emphasis is placed on individualized forms of treatment such as psychotherapy or the somatic therapies in such a way as to render consideration of the milieu unimportant or of secondary importance. In the face of these variations, the best definition available seems to be this: "One common factor in all . . . is the effort to offer the patient a new kind of community experience which will bring about or foster changes in the individual. Each represents an attempt to utilize the Patients' environment as a therapeutic tool."[14]

V. Methodology

A. General Procedure—The methodological task is to explicate the thesis by critical comparison of the two communities being stud-

12 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
13 Maxwell Jones, *The Therapeutic Community* (N.Y., 1953).
14 Harold Vogt, Ph.D., and Doris Rosenbaum, M.D., "The Therapeutic Community and its Role in Society," mimeographed paper, Prairie View Hospital, Newton, Kansas.

ied. The critical comparison will be made of somewhat idealized descriptions of each community. The first task therefore will be to enlarge upon the working definitions of the two communities given in Chapters II and III [of the thesis, which are not here reproduced]. This will be done by drawing on historical material, theoretical writings and personal information about each community.

Following the descriptive sections I shall in Chapter IV [of the thesis, not here reproduced] analyze and compare the interactional processes which form the communities as distinctive purposeful social organisms in distinction from unorganized groups of people or other forms of organization. From this analysis will emerge the prevailing understanding of man in each community with common as well as distinctive elements held by the two communities. Finally Chapter V [of the thesis, reproduced below under the heading *Conclusions*] will present the conclusions of the study.

B. Theoretical Background—The task of analysis and comparison presents the crucial methodological problem. This will require utilization of both theological and psychological material in a kind of correlation. While I have been stimulated and helped by Paul Tillich's method of correlation, my own attempts should not be equated with his. A more accurate word for my own approach at this time would be *interpenetration,* a term which I first received from Seward Hiltner.[15] The central problem involved has many levels which may be examined. Philosophically it would have to do with the relationship of that which is considered transcendent to that which is immanent. At a more concrete level it is the relationship between faith and culture. The current study is an attempt to relate the disciplines of culture, in this case psychological theory and practice,[16] with the discipline of theology in the examination of two specific forms of community.

It has been a constant task of theology to attempt to define for the Christian church just how such relationships may be understood. A continuum may be seen between those on the one extreme who would say that faith and culture have nothing to do with one another since they refer to two completely different worlds, and those on the

15 Seward Hiltner, *Preface to Pastoral Psychology* (New York, 1958), 223. Cf. Paul Tillich, "Psychoanalysis, Existentialism and Theology," *Pastoral Psychology,* IX (October 1958), pp. 9-17, 10.

16 The theory of the therapeutic community actually draws on several overlapping disciplines in the personality sciences including psychoanalysis, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The inclusion of all of these disciplines would be protested by some while others would protest that not enough are included, e.g., social work. It is not the aim here to attempt to define the precise relationships or boundaries between the personality sciences. The terms "psychologist" or "psychology" are used generally in the paper in the more generic sense to represent any person working from the perspectives of the personality sciences rather than in the more limited professional sense. Where the more limited professional meaning is used it will be indicated as such.

other extreme who would say that faith is simply an expression of culture or that there is no essential difference between them. Neither of these positions is acceptable for our purposes. On the other hand each of them does represent a value to be retained in the formula which is adopted. Each of the positions mentioned above makes the error of reductionism which results in failure to speak with authority because it narrows and oversimplifies the approach to problems which have greater complexity than is acknowledged. The value each has to offer is as one pole in a more dialectical view of reality which will be described below.

The only possible approach is a position in which each discipline is free to speak to the other in terms of its own perspective upon the life of man. Complete openness to mutual illumination is required for maximum benefit to either discipline. If one assumse a pejorative attitude it is likely that little basic communication will occur. Each discipline will function in terms of its own method and content but will find that there are areas in which its material overlaps or is supplemented by the other. At this point Hiltner's perspectival method has been most instructive and helpful. Functionally this means that the theologian *qua* theologian or the psychologist *qua* psychologist functions out of his own identity and integrity but with an awareness that there is more than can be grasped within the limits of the perspective itself.[17]

I find that the schematic diagram given below helps illustrate the *interpenetration* of perspectives:

Within the area of the parabola which may be understood to represent an organism (applicable to either individual personality or social organization) may be seen the two perspectives with which we are concerned. Neither perspective is exhaustive, although each has an openness and thrust toward more complete understanding of the existence of the organism. The parabola is bounded by a dotted line

17 Hiltner, *ibid.*, p. 18.

rather than a solid line, indicating the give and take relationship of the organism to the field which surrounds it. The diagram is too mechanical to illustrate the fact that interpenetration is not limited to certain areas. Either perspective enters all areas of human experience in terms of its own methods.

The significance of this scheme for our purposes is that either perspective penetrates the other in such a way that theological statements may not be considered adequate apart from recognition of the psychological conditioning involved in the process about which the statement is made, or on the other hand there is no psychological point of view which does not have potential for theological significance. The attempt to function within a discipline in which both perspectives are operative requires recognition of both the independence and the interdependence of the perspectives. Still more specifically with regard to the current study, a comparison in which the therapeutic community is considered the source of psychological data while the data from the church community is considered to be theological is not adequate. The two communities may each be considered from both perspectives.

One further element within this general method seems to me crucial. This has to do with the conditions under which the realization of interdependence of perspectives may occur. Both psychology and theology have tended to function in terms of abstraction. In psychology this has occurred in terms of "objective" observation of behavior, with a refusal to accept anything which was not empirically verifiable. Theology on the other hand has frequently functioned in terms of logical thought about categories exclusive to itself, with little recognition that the human situation to which theology has responsibiliy may be altered by new knowledge from other disciplines. Neither psychology or theology in these terms is adequate for a grasp of the human situation apart from intuitive sensitivity and direct human encounter. Methodologically this may mean less satisfactory and less precise analysis. However, unless the objective, the abstract, and the subjective, are all involved it is impossible to avoid reductionistic conclusions. It is for this reason that David Roberts has suggested that "psychologism" or "theologism" "can be rescued from abstractness only by a continual return to the 'I-Thou' relationship."[18] The vital forward movements in both psychology and theology have often occurred upon recognition of direct intuitive aspects of experience in contrast to abstraction or objectification, e.g., Freud and Luther. On the other hand both abstraction and objectification

18 David Roberts, *Psychotherapy and the Christian View of Man* (N.Y., 1950), p. 153.

are required to draw out the full significance and understanding of the intuitive-personal dimensions of life so long as their limitations are recognized.

Some may question the validity of this perspectival approach on the basis that it tends to *reduce* human experience including the religious dimensions to *mere* psychological data. Such could be the case if psychological data were considered to be inferior or unimportant in the theological task or on the other hand if theological data were considered to be concerned primarily with the transcendent realm and unrelated to human experience. However, the consideration of experience in psychological terms does not eliminate the validity of the experience. Nor does psychology in its content or method fully comprehend the transcendent aspect of religious experience. Religious experience is not merely a psychological phenomenon, but it is impossible to recognize it as experience at all apart from an understanding of the human aspect involved in its apprehension.[19]

It is then a presupposition of this study that religious experience is the apprehension within the limits of human experience of God's activity made available through revelation. The Bible is the primary source of this revelation and Jesus Christ is the essential content. However, neither the Bible nor Jesus Christ may be understood apart from a response which arises out of man's experience of need. This expression of need is conditioned by the experience of man in history and culture which obviously has manifold aspects which may not be dealt with or even mentioned here but which form a part of man's experience of life. For our purposes revelation may then be understood as defined by William Temple as the "coincidence of event and appreciation."[20] In this manner, method proceeds through psychological method and data with a study of man's responses to the events of God's action which are given in theological categories. Both theology and psychology must be aware that the dimensions of human experience are observable and therefore available to study, but that on the other hand the observable has also a transcendent aspect which may not be overlooked by either.

Tillich has given a helpful clue to the relationship of the two disciplines in his suggestion that just as existentialism has meaning only when seen against a background of essentialism, so no understanding of life processes is possible or adequate without a concep-

19 *Ibid.*

20 William Temple, *Nature, Man and God* (N.Y., 1934), p. 315, quoted in Hiltner, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

tion of universal being.[21] Thus psychology and theology, while recognizing an area of common agreement in interpenetration, will find that interpenetration growing in importance if each allows the other also to supplement and augment its own insights. Psychology will be enriched by the recognition of a universal view of being which theology because of its special concerns may help provide. Psychology may on the other hand offer to theology a greater understanding of the depths of human experience.

C. Application of Method—This study sets out to examine two communities in terms of the method suggested above. This will require that both communities be examined in terms of both perspectives. That is, the church is a human community as is the therapeutic community, and both will be understood through examining the psychological processes involved in its life. Since our concern is theological as well, the processes of community will also be assessed from a theological perspective. Insofar as the two disciplines achieve greater interpenetration in the method and content of this study, both will be enhanced, and a deeper understanding of the meaning of these two communities for man's existence will have been achieved.

We shall attempt to compare the types of processes which are considered necessary and important in each community in terms particularly of the insights of social psychology. This will include among other things (1) the study of role relationships in the community, (2) the processes of individual change particularly in the movement from egocentricity to acceptance of the community and of oneself in the community, (3) authority, (4) decision making, (5) group discipline, (6) the handling of behavior deviancy in the community, and (7) relation to surrounding society. The data which will be discussed is primarily that of observable human behavior within each community. Thus, the data to begin with is essentially psychological. However, interpretation will proceed by moving into theological categories. The conclusions will have significance for both perspectives in that each will be enlightened by the consideration of the experiences of group processes in the perspective of the other. [Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are here omitted.]

Conclusions

The task of the study as stated in the hypothesis is to seek theological ground for the therapeutic community within the Anabaptist view of the church. This was to be done by a comparison of the

21 Paul Tillich, "Existentialism, Psychotherapy and the Nature of Man," *Pastoral Psychology*, XI (June 1960), pp. 10-18, 10, 13.

processes involved in the life of the two communities as well as the understanding of man which is implicit in these processes. Chapter I provided the general background and methodological framework for the study. Chapter II was devoted to description of the Anabaptist view of the church. Chapter III attempted to describe the therapeutic community as an approach to the treatment of the mentally ill practiced by contemporary psychiatric hospitals. In Chapter IV these two communities were analyzed in terms of the underlying social and psychological processes and then compared insofar as parallel processes seemed to warrant comparison. This chapter (V) will be devoted to drawing some conclusions from the study which speak to the hypothesis.

The major task is to show just how it is that the therapeutic community may be given theological ground within the Anabaptist view of the church. It has become amply clear, I believe, that there are many superficial parallels between the two communities; e.g., emphasis on voluntarism, nonhierarchical structure, internal rather than external determination of community life, etc. Further, I believe it has been shown that at a deeper level the psychological processes which operate in determining the nature of relationships in the community are parallel if not identical.

The central problem, however, is to determine whether these parallelisms and similarities warrant theological conclusions. To what extent may it be said that the therapeutic community is dependent upon the same kind of processes which function within and are given theological meaning within the church? If these are the same may we assume that the therapeutic community operates on the same presuppositions on which the church bases its life? Or are the presuppositions of one or the other body of theory and practice invalidated by the insights of the other?

It is common knowledge that the explicit presuppositions have great differences historically. Theological thought underlying the Anabaptist view of the church has been historically based in the Bible as the revelation of God's action among men. The therapeutic community with its roots in modern psychoanalytic thought has espoused naturalistic explanations of human experience which tend to reduce all experience to psychological terms. This is not a full picture of the experience in either community, however. The understanding of the church involves human experience and may be analyzed psychologically, but insofar as those who participate in the community are also people of faith who attach value to life, the experiences of community life have greater meaning than is ex-

plicable in the cause and effect terms of psychological analysis. It is not possible to compare the two communties by comparing theological presuppositions about God's action in the church with psychological presuppositions about man's experience in relation to man. Adequate comparison requires examination of the areas of human experience to determine to what extent common values underlie the two communities.

It is not enough, however, to seek theological undergirding for the therapeutic community. As was suggested in the methodological section of the first chapter, both psychological and theological perspectives must be focused on both communities. We seek not only a means by which the therapeutic community may make room for the theological interpretation of experience but also how the church looks upon human experience and how the latter is understood in terms of ultimate meaning. A theological interpretation may not be forced upon the therapeutic community unless the church is willing also to look at the meaning of human experience within its own existence. On the other hand, the psychological explanation of interpersonal experiences may not be forced upon the church community without due regard for the significance to psychology of the realm of religious experience and meaning.

The discussion to this point has sought to achieve the openness necessary to formulating conclusions. However, conclusions in this case may not be offered as final answers to questions which are as complex as those existing between psychology and theology. It is to be hoped that the conclusions offered will point in the direction of further fruitful discussion rather than a premature closure. This is then something of a conclusion itself, namely that discussion can be carried on relative to the interpenetraton of theological and psychological perspectives upon common experience but that the discussion which is really creative does not seek final answers so much as new hypotheses for continuing interchange. With this reservation the following conclusions are offered:

Theological Basis for Therapeutic Community—A general proposal would seem appropriate to indicate how the Anabaptist view of the church provides the theological basis for the therapeutic community. We have referred repeatedly to parallels in structure and in the nature of relationships with the community. If the hypothesis can be supported at all it will be supported by the theological significance of the relationships which occur in the community. This significance is established, however, not by virtue of feelings of mutuality or the structural forms which provide for some stabiliza-

tion of community life. Rather theological significance is established by the fact that the relationships to which we refer partake of the fundamental order of creation. Martin Buber has put it as follows:

> The true community does not arise through people's having feelings for one another (though indeed not without it), but through, first, their taking their stand in living mutual relation with a living Centre, and second, their being in living mutual relation with another. The second has its source in the first, but is not given when the first alone is given. Living mutual relation includes feelings, but does not originate with them. The community is built up out of living mutual relation, but the builder is the living effective Centre.[22]

It is to be noted that the priority of relationships to the Center is not a temporal relationship but is rather a priority of significance. The "living Center" is not known apart from the secondary order of relationships in the community. It is not so much that the relationships to the Center form a completely different order of relatedness. Rather it provides the base within which true fullness of the community is realized.

The Anabaptists looked upon their fellowship as the body of Christ. The fundamental fact for our discussion is that the church was essential to their realization of the relationship to Christ. Repeating the words of Robert Friedmann: ". . . the central idea of Anabaptism, the real dynamite of the age of the Reformation as I see it was this, that one cannot find salvation without caring for the 'brother,' that this brother actually matters in the personal life. . . . This interdependence of men gives life and salvation new meaning."[23]

All of life finds its real significance in the encounter with others in the relationships of community. Existence in the community of the church is based upon the common relationship to Christ. However, the individual does not apprehend Christ apart from the relationships in life which point toward and prepare the way for the fullness of community in the church. The "preparatory" nature of community apart from Christ is not necessarily available in existence generally. In fact, the "world" of human existence is bound by the relationships which are represented in sin or neurosis which enter in to such an extent that the individual is kept from the community. However, when this is overcome in any sense, as is the case at times in the orders of existence such as family life and in the case of the therapeutic community, those who participate in community

22 Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (Edinburgh, 1937), p. 45.
23 Robert Friedmann, "On Mennonite Historiography and on Individualism and Brotherhood," *MQR*, XVIII, No. 2 (April 1924), 121.

become participant in the order of creation which may ultimately achieve its fullness in the community of Christ in the church.

It does not follow necessarily that all of life in the therapeutic community is fully grounded in this "new order" of existence. It is limited to the extent that it does not always recognize the common ground of the new order in Jesus Christ. These limitations are not the limitations only of the therapeutic community, however. The Anabaptist community which seeks the full realization of community is also constantly confronted with the failure of human relationships. Thus its structure includes discipline and mutual aid to maintain the community as the body of Christ.

One final step is necessary if the therapeutic community is to be theologically grounded within the church. The therapeutic community must ultimately recognize the wholeness of life which goes beyond the order of mental health. While the hospital is structured around the goals of achieving for the patient new levels of experience in community life, even these levels of experience are best achieved if it is recognized that they point toward the order of life in the Body of Christ. The achievement of this fullness of community is dependent not only upon the therapeutic community but upon the church as well. The therapeutic community may not find this ultimate meaning simply by accepting the theological framework of the church. Its ability to accept the theological framework will be dependent upon the ability and willingness of the church to accept into itself as necessary to the realization of the community of Christ the order of relatedness which many have found actualized in the therapeutic community in a way which was not available to them in the church.

The conclusions which follow are attempts to illustrate further the manner in which the therapeutic community finds its theological ground in the understanding of the church which acknowledges the significance of this basic order of existence.

Man's Need in Sin and Neurosis—It would be presumptuous to propose that an adequate discussion of this problem could be achieved in the short span which is appropriate here. [A fuller discussion is provided in the thesis.] However, the common elements of (1) bondage, (2) level of personal responsibility within the bondage, and (3) the need for help from outside oneself, indicate that sin and neurosis cannot be completely separated. While recognizing the extent of bondage, both communities under consideration can best aid the indivdual by helping him to clarify the realm of decision over which he does have control and the nature of the bondage

which limits his freedom. Sin ought not to be equated with neurosis inasmuch as the latter involves distortion beyond "normal" limits over which the patient does not have control. However, to assume, therefore, that the patient has no responsibility because of the bondage of the distorted sense of reality would be equally as harmful as an oversimplified identification of sin and neurosis.

I believe it may be concluded that the basic intent of the therapeutic effort to mobilize the patient's sense of responsible behavior set within an adequate understanding of his limitations is to some degree equivalent to the efforts of the church to help the individual understand his own condition of sin for which he is responsible at the same time that he finds it inescapable. However, if the help offered in either case is jugmental the attempted clarification may paralyze constructive response. Further, responsibility in either case may be obscured by an overly profound sense of bondage.

An external or abstract equation of sin with neurosis is fraught with the potential dangers of a judgmental approach which may hinder change in the individual. However, the patient, as he confronts in the relationships of the community the realm of personal decision, may in fact be helped to realize the depth of his need if he can recognize the bondage he experiences as sin. Within such human experience and not simply in theological formulation the identification of sin and neurosis may be a crucial key to achieving wholeness.

Ultimately, the realization of personal responsibility in either case has significance in the individual's relationship to God. The therapeutic community, because of the proportions of the task of overcoming the distortions of neurosis, may on practical grounds limit its efforts to achievement of a relative level of mental health. Although the church is concerned with this achievement, it seeks a higher level of wholeness in terms of the individual's relationship to God. The patient who participates in both communities may then at some level be able with adequate help to integrate the two experiences. This will be dependent upon the ability of both communities to recognize and to help the patient recognize that ultimately that power which operates within the community to enable the person to overcome the bondage he experiences in sin and neurosis is grounded in God.

Theological and Psychological Understanding of Change—One significant difference between the two communities has to do with their perception of the process involved in the change which follows the confrontation in community. The church looks upon change as it occurs in conversion as a response to the work of Christ. The

therapeutic community does not attempt to cast the change in a religious or theological perspective. In fact, the psychological process to which the therapeutic community refers is based on a "scientific" understanding of natural processes. This dilemma may be dealt with at two levels.

First, it must be recognized that the hospital is not directly equivalent to the church nor need it become a church. It is an institution established for the specialized purpose of helping people with emotional problems via psychological methods. The patient's entrance into the community of the hospital, with all this implies, is in reality only a temporary experience although it is hoped that this will have a longe-range effect in the patient's life. For practical and ethical reasons the hospital does not attempt to "convert" the patient to a religious faith. The hospital confronts, particularly in the pluralistic society, a variety of denominational and theological points of view which may and often do complicate the patient's therapy. This is particularly true when a patient's religious background includes judgmental and authoritarian conceptions. This presents ethical implications both in terms of responsibility to the larger community and to the patient who often is not able to integrate new doctrinal beliefs because of his emotional state.

A second and more fundamental approach to the problem is that in which the church takes the process of healing into itself as a part of its own total concern. Ths does not mean that the church should take control over the healing arts or inject its own formulations into the healing process. Rather, this is the approach which would say with David Roberts "that whatever is valid in Christ's disclosure of God is universally operative in human life, and, therefore, is verifiable within experience."[24] This does not lower the function of the church or of the process of salvation to "mere" natural processes. Rather, this can be the faith of the church which seeks God's creative and redemptive work in whatever way it is manifest.

> The movement of thought should be from the operation of healing power in life—love replacing egotism and inward harmony replacing conflict—to a resulting formulation of belief in doctrine. An attempt to reverse the process, to force experience into the confirmation of doctrine shows a lack of confidence in the power of the gospel to illuminate, persuade and convert men.[25]

The task of the church is to witness to all people including those who need and receive psychiatric care. The witness is not an

24 Roberts, *Psychotherapy and a Christian View of Man*, p. 142.
25 *Ibid.*

additional something which will do a different or a better job of healing them in the midst of their emotional illness. It is rather a witness to the faith that God works in the healing processes within human experience and that He is most uniquely known in Jesus Christ, who may become for the healed person more fully the Lord of life as a result of that healing. An example of what is intended was reported to me in the words of one mother who after several months of treatment said, "I don't know just why but recently I've begun to be much more interested in and active in our church, something I never had any real interest in before."

This approach does not solve all the practical problems. The church is still confronted with the problems of communication and wth its history of doctrinal emphases which frequently stand in the way of the living Gospel. The psychiatric hospital is also confronted with the task of determining just how to relate its own functioning to this realm of ultimate meaning. Such an approach as it suggested here does as a minimum hold open the possibility of eliminating competition between the two communities.

The Holy Spirit and Group Dynamics

Following the method suggested above, the function of the Holy Spirit in relation to group dynamics may also be illuminated. The Anabaptists' perception of the Holy Spirit did not allow for individualistic or mystical interpretation. Rather, they understood the Holy Spirit to function in the consensus of the community which was reached in the give and take of mutual relations. This does not mean that the consensus was the exclusive creation of something from within the community but rather the discovery of that which is given in the nature of the universe. For the Anabaptist community this meant the order of the universe as perceived through the eyes of faith. It does not, however, eliminate the functions of what contemporary psychology calls group dynamics. The members of the Anabaptist community lived in concrete existential relations. They were not cognizant of the psychological implications of community relationships, but they were acutely aware that the Holy Spirit was functioning in their midst. They were enabled to deal with the problems of life, but this in no way enabled them to escape from life.

The therapeutic community looks upon the experiences of the group as an empirical fact which may be actualized in other communities which approximate the same conditions. The empirical base of group functions does not require an acknowledgment of the

Holy Spirit. However, if human experience is the context in which God works, it may then be assumed that group dynamics are not separated from God's concern. Further, as was suggested earlier, the psychological understanding of experience has developed in Western culture which is to some extent shaped by the Christian perspective.

It may therefore be assumed that the function of the Holy Spirit and group dynamics are not mutually exclusive but that they are very intimately related. The acknowledgment of the Holy Spirit in the community of faith is not a denial of the group-dynamics function but an appreciation of its universal ground in God. Group dynamics within the therapeutic community or within the church must be tested on empirical bases but may also be acknowledged to be that which finds its fullest meaning in the eyes of faith as the function of the Holy Spirit.

26 Littell, *MQR*, XXIV, No. 2, 80.

(Continued from page 196)

arrive at a fully Biblical Anabaptist theology. In the words "The Lord is the Spirit," which have a double significance, both possibilities of theology meet, and in this meeting we see revealed the great dialectic of God's concern with the world. If we in our faith take a position in the unity of this two-fold action of God's Word and Spirit, then we shall be able to assimilate the great heritage of our forefathers in the right way.

On the occasion of this memorial of Menno Simons' death I want to express the prayer that our churches and our brotherhood may be built up as a house that is founded on the only Foundation, and that is open to the moving of the Holy Spirit which will lead us into all truth.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE COLLEGES 1959-60

SILAS HERTZLER*

The nineteen schools included in the attendance tabulations for 1959-60 are the same as for the previous year. Six of these institutions are located in two Canadian provinces. The remaining thirteen are located in eight states of the United States. Five institutions are in Manitoba, and four are in Kansas. California and Indiana each have two Mennonite schools. The remaining states and provinces named have one school in each state or province. The complete list of institutions, with post office addresses, is as follows:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 3003 Benham Avenue, Elkhart, Indiana
Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, 4824 East Butler Avenue, Fresno 2, California
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg 5, Manitoba
Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 600 Robin Boulevard, Tuxedo, Winnipeg 9, Manitoba
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Pacific College, 2149 Tuolumne Street, Fresno 21, California
Bethel Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing, 411 South East Second Street, Newton, Kansas
Mennonite Hospital School of Nursing, 804 North East Street, Bloomington, Illinois
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Box 39, Gretna, Manitoba
Mennonite Educational Institute, Clearbrook, British Columbia
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 173 Talbot Avenue, Winnipeg 5, Manitoba
Steinbach Bible Institute, Steinbach, Manitoba

Table I gives complete statistics for each of the nineteen schools. Registration for 1959-60 increased from 4866 to 4949, or a total of 83. This is a negligible increase of only slightly over one percent. Actually, ten of the nineteen schools reported a slight decrease in attendance. The very slight increase in the total resulted from the added enrollment which took place in the other nine institutions.

Table II reports the enrollment by classes. Graduate students were enrolled in four institutions with a total increase of 27 over the previous year. There was a larger enrollment in each of the freshman, sophomore, junior and senior classes, as contrasted with 1958-59. There were more in summer school. The greatest change was in the enrollment of music and art students on the subcollege level, which declined. The colleges evidently are beginning to feel that it is hardly justifiable to report such

* Silas Hertzler is a professor in the Department of Education, Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas.

people as college students, as evidenced by the fact that only 79 were reported as contrasted with 283 the previous year.

Table III gives the number of Mennonite and non-Mennonite students in each school. An added feature this year shows the percentage of Mennonite students in each institution. This runs from 100 percent in three schools, to as low as 33.3 percent in one college. This proportion of Mennonites to total enrollment decreased by 153 students for the year, with an increase of 164 non-Mennonites. In addition, there were 76 students for whom statistics were not available.

Table IV shows that summer-school students were enrolled in ten colleges and professional schools as contrasted with eight for the school year 1958-59.

Table V lists diplomas and degrees granted. Sixteen different bachelor's degrees were granted in 1959. The Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science in Education degrees include by far the largest proportion of all degrees. Diplomas in recognition of work completed for shorter periods than the four-year degree courses continue to be given as in previous years.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Colleges, 1959-60

School	*Graduate Students*	*College*	*Not of College Grade*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*
M.B.S.	57[1]	16[2]	—	73	46	27
M.B.B.S.	25[3]	—	—	25	23	2
Goshen	79[4]	1216[5]	4[6]	1299	618	681
Bethel	—	709	17[7]	756	375	351
E.M.C.	26[8]	603[9]	—	629	277	252
Bluffton	—	526	15[7]	541	236	305
Grace	—	353	—	353	150	203
Tabor	—	282	43[7]	325	136	189
M.B.B.C.	—	204	—	204[11]	70	58
Hesston	—	183[10]	—	183	106	77
Freeman	—	138	—	138	34	104
Canadian	—	99	—	99	52	47
Pacific	—	90	—	90	56	34
M.C.I.	—	59	—	59	26	33
Bethel Hosp.	—	57	—	57	—	57
Bloomington Hosp.	—	57	—	57	—	57
M.E.I.	—	43	—	43	25	18
M.B.C.I.	—	35	—	35	20	15
Steinbach	—	13	—	13	6	7
TOTAL	187	4624	79	4949[11]	2256	2617

1 9 unclassified students.
2 part time students.
3 5 parttime; 1 auditor.
4 5 liberal arts graduate students.
5 29 correspondence students.
6 correspondence students.
7 music and art students.
8 18 liberal arts postgraduate students.
9 34 correspondence students.
10 one correspondence student.
11 76 evening and summer students for whom detailed statistics are not given.

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, 1959-60

School	*Graduate*	*Seniors*	*Juniors*	*Soph.*	*Fresh.*	*Special Part Time*	*Summer*	*Not College Grade*	*Total*
M.B.S.	57	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	73
M.B.B.S.	25[8]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
Goshen	79	190	173	187	259	282[1]	125	4	1299
Bethel	—	93	122	113	186	113[2]	82	17	726
E.M.C.	26	78	60	129	163	134[3]	39	—	629

Bluffton	—	64	59	89	148	126	40	15	541
Grace	—	44	52	59	160	38[4]	—	—	325
Tabor	—	30	64	75	73	28	12	43	325
M.B.B.C.	—	—	31	38	59	76[6]	—	—	204
Hesston	—	—	—	34	104	45[6]	—	—	183
Freeman	—	—	—	33	18	27	60	—	138
Canadian	—	12	32	45	9	1	—	—	99
Pacific	—	—	2	15	43	30[7]	—	—	90
M.C.I.	—	—	—	—	59	—	—	—	59
Bethel Hosp.	—	—	21	15	21	—	—	—	57
Bloomington Hosp.	—	—	15	14	28	—	—	—	57
M.E.I.	—	—	—	—	43	—	—	—	43
M.B.C.I.	—	—	—	—	35	—	—	—	35
Steinbach	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	13
TOTAL	187	511	631	846	1421	916	358	79	4949

1 253 special and part-time students; 29 correspondence.
2 13 auditors.
3 50 special, 33 extension, 17 adult education, 34 correspondence.
4 29 special, 9 evening classes.
5 16 special, 60 evening classes.
6 11 parttime, 33 evening students, 1 correspondence.
7 4 part-time, 26 evening classes.
8 5 part-time, 1 auditor.

TABLE III

Enrollment by Denomination

	Mennonites			Non-Mennonites				
School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*	*Grand Total*	*Percentage Mennonites*
M.B.S.	37	25	62	9	2	11	73	89.9
M.B.B.S.	15	1	16	8	1	9	25	64.0
Goshen	460	456	916	158	225	383	1299	74.5
Bethel	281	271	552	94	80	174	726	76.0
E.M.C.	258	337	595	19	15	34	629	94.6
Bluffton	84	96	180	152	209	361	541	33.3
Grace	81	99	180	69	104	173	353	50.9
Tabor	125	164	289	11	25	36	325	87.7
Hesston	101	74	175	5	3	8	183	95.6
Freeman	29	72	101	5	32	37	138	73.2
M.B.B.C.	67	57	124	3	1	4	128	96.1
Canadian	52	47	99	—	—	—	99	100.0
Pacific	24	25	49	32	9	41	90	55.6
M.C.I.	25	33	58	1	—	1	59	98.3
Bethel Hosp.	—	45	45	—	12	12	57	78.9
Bloomington Hosp.	—	22	22	—	35	35	57	38.6
M.E.I.	25	18	43	—	—	—	43	100.0
M.B.C.I.	20	15	35	—	—	—	35	100.0
Steinbach	6	6	12	—	1	1	13	92.3
TOTALS	1690	1863	3553	566	754	1320	4873*	72.9

* These totals are 76 short of the grand total in Table I.
This is due to the fact that 76 students from MB.B.C. are not included.

TABLE IV

Summer Session Enrollment, 1959

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
M.B.S.	17	8	25
Goshen	121	207	328
Bluffton	56	146	202
Bethel	56	101	157
E.M.C.	28	45	73
Freeman	13	47	60
Bethel Hosp.	—	57	57
Bloomington Hosp.	—	57	57
Tabor	5	21	26
M.B.B.C.	—	—	16*
TOTAL	296	689	1001*

* Detailed statistics not given for 16 students.

TABLE V

Degrees Granted and Diplomas Given, 1959

	M.B.S.	M.B.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel	E.M.C.	Bluffton	M.B.B.C.	Tabor	Grace	Hesston	Bethel Hospital	Bloomington Hospital	Freeman	Pacific	Total
B.D.	5	5	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23
M.R.E.	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
M.A.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
B.A.	—	—	75	33	26	10	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	174
B.S. in Ed.	—	—	53	3	17	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	104
B.S.	—	—	—	—	16	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	49
B.S. in El. Ed.	—	—	—	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33
B.S. in Nursing	—	—	16	4	6	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	27
B.A. in Bible	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	25
B.R.E.	—	—	—	—	5	—	17	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	23
Th.B.	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
B.S. in Home Econ.	—	—	—	4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
B.S. in Ind. Arts	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
B.S. in Business	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
B.S. in Nat. Sc.	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
B.S. in Ph. Ed.	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
B.S. in Biology	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
B. Sacred Music	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
B.S. in Theology	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
R.N.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	19	—	—	41
3 yr. Bible	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	—	1	—	2	—	26
3 yr. Music	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
A.A.	—	—	9	6	—	—	—	—	—	44	—	—	17	4	80
Jr. College	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	9
Jr. College Bible	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
2 yr. Bible	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	5	7
2 yr. Normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
1 yr. College	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—	14
1 yr. Secr.	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
1 yr. Normal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
Am. Studies	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Music	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Bible	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
1 yr. Bible	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
L.P.N.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
TOTAL	6	6	178	98	99	74	40	30	39	44	45	19	25	12	715

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

A TRIBUTE TO ROBERT FRIEDMANN

Robert Friedmann stands in the line of the great interpreters of Anabaptism, the line of Cornelius, Keller, Beck, Bossert, Wolkan, Loserth, Hege, Neff, and Horsch. These were the scholars who pressed beyond a correction of the false image of the Anabaptists, which was the legacy of the sixteenth-century confessional historiography, into a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the history of the movement on the basis of objective research in the sources. His particular field has been the Hutterite Anabaptists; and in this field he is the acknowledged master. With sound historical method, combined with sympathetic understanding, he has explored all aspects of the life of the Hutterites and expounded their faith in fullness. For a third of a century, beginning with his first publication in Vienna in 1927, an almost constant flow of scholarly articles on this unique Christian communal brotherhood has marked his career, first in Austria, then in the United States, climaxed by his contribution of almost two hundred articles to the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* on the Hutterian Brethren as well as other Anabaptistica. That we know so much about the Hutterites is due not only to the extraordinary source material which has become available, but also to the profound learning, penetrating interpretative skill, and unflagging energy of Robert Friedmann.

Professor Friedmann has also contributed significantly to major advances in the knowledge and interpretation of Anabaptism as a whole and, beyond sixteenth-century Anabaptism, of Mennonitism in the following centuries. The bibliography of his writings, which appears in this issue of the Review, is a testimony to the scope and depth of his contribution. But the writings alone do not tell the whole story. His colleagues, and the students and friends who have sat in his lectures or shared with him in seminars and study conferences, and have enjoyed delightful hours of scholarly and engaging conversation with him, will be forever grateful for the enlightenment and stimulation which they have received and continue to receive from him.

The Mennonite Historical Society is proud to honor the revered scholar on the occasion of his seventieth birthday anniversary, June 9, 1961, by the collection and publication of his most significant historical essays in the field of Hutterite Anabaptism, a total of forty-four titles. The book was published on June 9, 1961, under the title *Hutterite Studies,* in a volume of 350 pages. Together with his family, who by a generous contribution to the cost of publication have made this anniversary volume possible, the Society extends heartiest congratulations and best wishes to Robert Friedmann. May this volume be a visible token of the esteem and affectionate regard in which he is held by his many friends and colleagues.

The editors of the Review join in this tribute.

Harold S. Bender

Biographical Sketch of Robert Friedmann

Robert Friedmann was born June 9, 1891, in Vienna, Austria. Following his education as an engineer in the Technical University of Vienna, 1908-14, he entered the University of Vienna in 1920 in the field of history and philosophy, securing the Ph.D., degree in 1924. He then

taught at Gymnasiums in Vienna from 1925 to 1938. He began his Anabaptist studies in 1923, when he was commissioned by the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte to edit a volume of Hutterite epistles. In 1939 he left Austria, reaching the United States via England the same year. He was Honorary Fellow at Yale Divinity School in 1940, and Research Fellow in Anabaptist Studies at Goshen College in 1940-43. For a part of the latter period he was Visiting Lecturer at Goshen College. He was an assistant editor of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* in 1947-59, responsible for the former Austria-Hungarian territories and the Hutterian Brethren. From 1945 until his retirement in June 1961 he was Professor of History and Philosophy at Western Michigan University at Kalamazoo, Michigan.

A CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF ROBERT FRIEDMANN

A. Articles in German in European Journals

"Die Habaner in der Slowakei," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde,* XXXII, 1927 (reprint, 11 pages, illustrated)

"Die Briefe der österreichischen Täufer, ein Bericht," *ARG,* XXVI (1929, 30-38, and 161-87 (with exhaustive bibliography). (A condensed English version appeared in *MQR,* 1946.)

"Vernunft und Gehorsam, ein alter Täuferbrief und sein Sinn," *Mennonitische Blätter,* LXXVI (1929), 44-47. (The same article appeared also in English in the *MQR,* 1945.)

Review of Wilhelm Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum,* I and II, in *Mennonitische Blätter* (1929), 113-14, and *ibid.* (1932), 2-4 (The same review appeared also in English in the *MQR,* 1940.)

"Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der hutterischen Täufergemeinschaften in Mähren," *ARG,* XXVIII (1931), 80-111, and 207-240 ("Ergänzung der Bibliographie," *ibid.,* 240-41); XXIX (1932), 117

"Von einem wahrhaften Ritter Christi, ein bisher unbekannter Traktat aus den Kreisen der philippischen Brüder in Mähren," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* Dritte Folge, II, Vol. LI (1932) 524-35. (The same article appeared also in English in the *MQR,* 1931.)

"Ueber Thomas Müntzer (Ein Sammelreferat)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung,* XLVII (1933), 90-97

B. Articles in the Mennonite Quarterly Review

Concerning the True Soldier of Christ. 5:87-99 Ap '31: Correction. 32:236-238 Jl '58

Anabaptism and Pietism. 14:90-128 Ap '40; 14:149-169 Jl '40

Spiritual Changes in European Mennonitism, 1650-1750. 15:33-45 Ja '41

The Schleitheim Confession (1527) and Other Doctrinal Writings of the Swiss Brethren in a Hitherto Unknown Edition. 16:82-98 Ap '42

The Devotional Literature of the Swiss Brethren, 1600-1800. 16:199-200 O '42

Adventures of an Anabaptist in Turkey, 1607-1610. 17:73-86 Ap '43

Mennonite Prayer Books. 17:179-206 O '43

On Mennonite Historiography and on Individualism and Brotherhood. 18:117-122 Ap '44

The Devotional Literature of the Mennonites in Danzig and East Prussia to 1800. 18:162-173 Jl '44
Reason and Obedience. 19:27-40 Ja '45
The Epistles of the Hutterian Brethren. 20:147-177 Jl '46
John Horsch and Ludwig Keller. 21:160-174 Jl '47
Faith and Reason: The Principles of Mennonitism Reconsidered, in a Treatise of 1833. Tr. and ed. by R. Friedmann. 22:75-93 Ap '48
The Encounter of Anabaptists and Mennonites with Anti-Trinitarianism. 22:139-162 Jl '48
Anabaptism and Protestantism. 24:12-24 Ja '50
A Comprehensive Review of Research on the Hutterites, 1880-1950. 24:353-363 O '50
A. J. F. Zieglschmid, an Obituary. 24:364-365 O '50
An Anabaptist Ordinance of 1633 on Nonresistance. 25:116-127 Ap '51
Dutch Mennonite Devotional Literature from Peter Peters to Joannes Deknatel, 1625-1753. 15:187-207 Jl '51
Peter Riedemann on Original Sin and the Way to Redemption. 26:210-215 Jl '52
Hutterite Physicians and Barber-Surgeons (additional notes). 27:128-136 Ap '53
A Communication to the Editor: A Critical Discussion of H. W. Meihuizen's Study, "Spiritual Trends and Movements Among the Dutch Mennonites of the 16th and 17th Centuries" (27:259-305 O '53) 28: 148-154 Ap '54
Christian Sectarians in Thessalonica and Their Relationship to the Anabaptists. 29:54-69 Ja '55; addenda, 30:78 Ja '56
Claus Felbinger's Confession of 1560. 21:141-161 Ap '55; Addenda, 30:78 Ja '56
The Oldest Church Discipline of the Anabaptists. 29:162-166 Ap '55
The Anabaptists Answer Melanchthon: (II) Some Further Studies Pertaining to the *Handbüchlein* of 1588. 29:223-231 Jl '55
A Hutterite Book of Medieval Origin. 30:65-71 Ja '56
Economic Aspects of Early Hutterite Life. 30:259-266 O '56
An Example of the Spirit of Early Anabaptism. 30:289 O '56
A Notable Hutterite Document: Concerning True Surrender and Christian Community of Goods. Tr. Kathleen E. Hasenberg (Introduction by Robert Friedmann). 31:22-62 Ja '57
Thomas Müntzer's Relation to Anabaptism. 31:75-87 Ap '57
Additional Comments on Loserth's Study on Carinthia. 21:248-251 O '57
The Philippite Brethren: A Chapter in Anabaptist History. 32:270-297 O '58
Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer: Two Tyrolean Anabaptist Martyr-Apostles of 1528. 33:31-42 Ja '59
The Oldest Known Hutterite Codex of 1566: A Chapter in Anabaptist Intellectual History. 33:96-108 Ap '59
The Doctrine of Original Sin as Held by the Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century. 33:207-215 Jl '59
Hutterites Revisit European Homesteads: From the Diary of David Hofer. 33:305-322 O '59
Jakob Hutter's Last Epistle to the Church in Moravia, 1535. 34:37-47 Ja '60
An Epistle Concerning Communal Life: A Hutterite Manifesto of 1650 and Its Modern Paraphrase. 34:249-274 O '60

B 2. Book Reviews in the Mennonite Quarterly Review

A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder. Ein Sprachdenkmal aus frühneuhochdeutscher Zeit.* 18:59-63 Ja '44

A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder.* 22:193-197 Jl '48

Kathleen E. Hasenberg, tr., *Account of Our Religion, Doctrine and Faith, Given by Peter Rideman of the Brothers Whom Men Call Hutterians.* 26:164-65 Ap '52

Wilhelm Wiswedel, *Ich traue seinen Wunderwegen.* 26:165-66 Ap '52

Roland H. Bainton, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.* 26:323-24 O '52

Roland H. Bainton, *The Travail of Religious Liberty, Nine Biographical Studies.* 26:324-25 O '52

Joachim Wach, *Types of Religious Experience, Christian and Non-Christian.* 26:326 O '52

Manfred Krebs, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, herausgegeben vom Verein für Reformationsgeschichte.* Volume IV. *Baden und Pfalz.* Karl Schornbaum, ed., Volume V: *Bayern II (Reichsstädte).* 27: 158-59 Ap '53

Stephan Hirzel, *Heimliche Kirche.* 28:73-74 Ja '54

C. Articles in English in Other American and European Journals

"Conception of an Anabaptist," *Church History,* IX (1940), 341-65

"The Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College," *The American-German Review,* IX (1942), 12-14 (ill.)

"Recent Interpretations of Anabaptism," *Church History,* XXIV (1955), 132-51.

"The Christian Communism of the Hutterite Brethren," *ARG* (1955), 196-208.

"Progress in Anabaptist Studies: A Comprehensive Review 1955-57," *Church History,* XXVII (1958), 72-76.

"The Doctrine of the Two Worlds," in G. F. Hershberger, *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (Scottdale, 1957), 105-18; "The Hutterian Brethren and Community of Goods," *ibid.,* pp. 83-90. (The second item is a reprint of a part of the study in *ARG,* 1955.)

In Mennonite Life

"Christian Love in Action," I (1946), 38-43 (ill.).

"Of Hutterite Books," VII (1952), 81-83.

"Wilhelm Wiswedel—His Service to Anabaptist Appreciation," X (1955), 41-44 (ill.)

"Hutterite Pottery or Haban Fayences," XIII (1958), 147-52 (182) (ill.)

"More About Habaner Pottery," XIV (1959), 129-30 (ill.)

"Anabaptism in the Inn Valley," XV (1960) 109-14 (ill.)

D. Books Published or in Preparation

Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries, its Genius and its Literature Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Ind., 1949 (287 pp.)

Hutterite Studies. Essays by Robert Friedmann. Collected and Published in Honor of His Seventieth Anniversary. Edited by Harold S. Bender.

Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Täufer, II, by Lydia Müller (†) and Robert Friedmann. To be published by the Verein für Reforma-

tionsgeschichte about 1962 in the *Täuferakten* series (about 700 pages of Anabaptist sources with introductions).

A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Hutterite Manuscripts. To be published in 1962 (about 400 pages).

E. ARTICLES IN THE MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA

A-B-C Books
Albrecht V
Alwintz
Anabaptist, Concept of
Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticum Pantheon
Andreae, Jakob
Annales Anabaptistici
Antitrinitarianism
Ausbund
Austria
Arndt, Johann
Arnold, Gottfried
Article Book, Hutterite
Ascherham
Balzer, Heinrich
Bedenken der Wiedertaeufer halber
Beiler, David
Boeger, Salomon
Braitmichel, Kaspar
Bratislava
Brno (Bruenn)
Bruderhof
Bruederliche Vereinigung
Burkholder, Christian
Burkholder, Hans
Buyser, Jan de (R.F.—vdZ.)
Carinthia (Loserth—R.F.)
Carinthian Exiles
Campanus
Chalkley, Thomas
Christelijck Huys-Boeck
Christliches Gemuethsgespraech
Chronica, Zeytbuch und geschychtbibel
Chronicles, Hutterite
Clemens, Epistle No. IV
Clock, Leenaerdt
Community of Goods: General
Community of Goods: Hutterite
Concerning a True Soldier of Christ
Concordances
Counter-Reformation
Decker (Hutterite family)
Denner, Jacob
Denomination
Devotional Literature (Anabaptist and Mennonite)
Doctrinal Literature (Anabaptist and Mennonite)
Diener am Wort
Diener der Notdurft
Dietrich, Sebastian
Dietrichstein (family)
Divorce from Unbelievers
Dunin-Borkowski, St.
Economic History of the Hutterian Brethren
Eder, Georg
Education, Hutterite
Eglauch, Casper (Hege—R.F.)
Ehrenpreis, Andreas (Loserth—R.F.)
Eleutherobios, Stoffel and Leonhard
Epistles, Anabaptist: Hutterite
Epistles, Anabaptist: Non-Hutterite
Erhard, Christoph
Esztergom
Eusebius, Church History, Influence upon Anabaptism
Eysvogel, Johann
Ezra, Fourth Book
Felbinger, Claus
Ferdinand I (Mecenseffy—R.F.)
Fischer, Christoph Andreas
Freistadt (Mecenseffy—R.F.)
Freyberg, Helene von
Gabrielites
Gemeindeordnungen
Gelassenheit
Geistliches Blumengaertlein
Geistliches Lustgaertlein
Gespraech zwischen einem Pietisten und einem Wiedertaeufer
Glait, Oswald (Loserth—R.F.)
Goller, Balthasar
Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Christoph
Gueldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen
Habaner
Haffner, Hans
Half-Anabaptists
Handbuechlein wider den Prozess
Hapsburg
Hasel
Haug, Joerg
Hegler, Alfred (Bossert—R.F.)
Hofer (Hutterite family)
Hohenberg
Holitsch
Hungary
Hut, Hans (Loserth—R.F.)
Hutterian Brethren (with maps)
Hutterite Family Names
Hutterite Mission Work
Jedelshauser, Hans
Jesuits, Position to Anabaptism
Josephus, Flavius
Juridical Procedure against Anabaptists (Wiswedel—R.F.)
Jutzi, Georg
Keller, Ludwig, and the Mennonites
Kesselsdorf
Ketzer-Historie and **Ketzer-Lexikon**
Kirche unterm Kreuz
Kleines Hand-Buechlein
Kuehn, Johannes
Kuentsche, Hans Friedrich
Lieder der Hutterischen Brueder
Lord's Supper, parable
Maendl (Mendel, Hutterite family)
Marital Avoidance among Hutterites
Marriage, Hutterite Practices

Martyrdom, Theology of
Mechel, yon
Medicine among the Hutterites
Ministers, Hutterite
Mittersill
Moravia
Moravian Church
Muentzer, Thomas
Nicolai, Melchior
Olivi, Petrus
Original Sin
Ostorodt, Christoph
Pappenheim, Marschalk von (W.Kl.—R.F.)
Philippites
Plener, Philipp
Radical Reformation
Rattenberg
Reason and Obedience
Rechenschaft unserer Religion
Riedemann, Peter
Resch, Ambrosius
Restitution (two articles)
Rossitz
Schiemer, Leonhard
Schlaffer, Hans
Schlegel, Adam
Schmidt, Hans (Raiffer)
Schmidt, Hans von Rommelshausen
Schneider, Michael
Schuetzinger, Simon
Schwaermer
Sendbrief
Sermons, Hutterite
Singing, Hutterite
Slovakia (Loserth—R.F.)
Sobotiste
Social Background of the Anabaptists in Hapsburg Territories
Socinianism and the Hutterites
Spiritualism
Spittelmaier, Hans
Stadler, Ulrich
Steyr (Mecenseffy—R.F.)
Styria (Mecenseffy—R.F.)
Sweet and Bitter Christ
Taufreden, Hutterite
Thessalonica
Tirol (Loserth—R.F.)
Trade and Trade Regulations
Transdanubia
Transylvania (Loserth—R.F.)
Troeltsch, Ernst
Veldthaler, Michael
Verantwortung
Vienna (Loserth—R.F.)
Vogel, Wolfgang
Vorarlberg (Loserth—R.F.)
Walachia
Waldner, Johannes
Walpot, Peter
Walter (Hutterite family)
Walter, Darius
Walter, Elias, Bishop (R.F.—H.S.B.)
Walter, Zacharias (Hege—R.F.)
Weber, Philipp
Widemann, Jakob
Wipf, family
Wolkan, Rudolf
Wolleb, Johann Jakob
Zapff, Hauptrecht
Zaunring, Georg
Zerotin family (Odlocilik—R.F.)
Zieglschmid, A.J.F.
Zobel, Georg
Zuckenhammer, Hans
Zwicker, Dr. Daniel